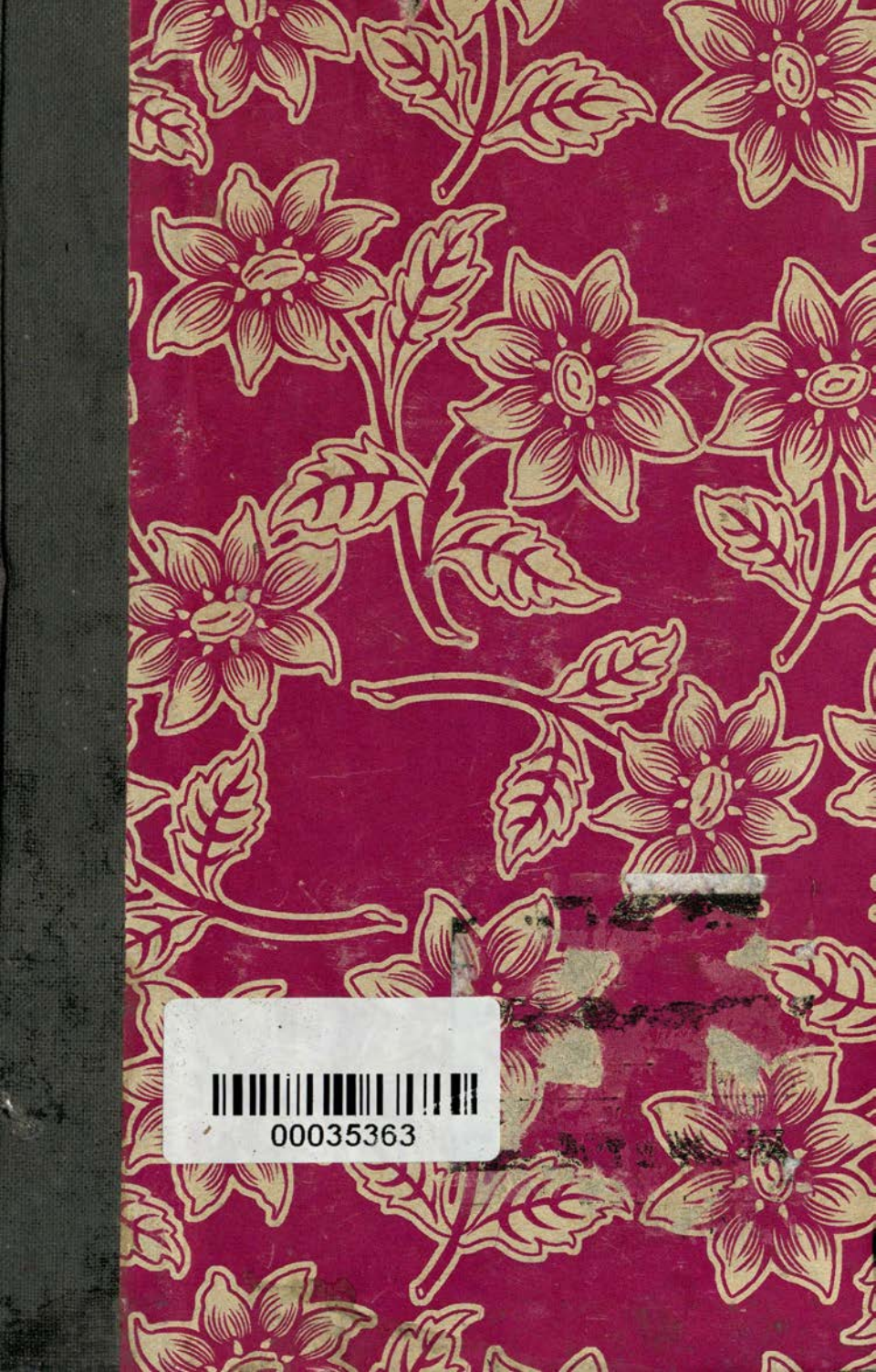
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AFRICA

IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

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BY

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'Outlines of the World's History,' Etc.

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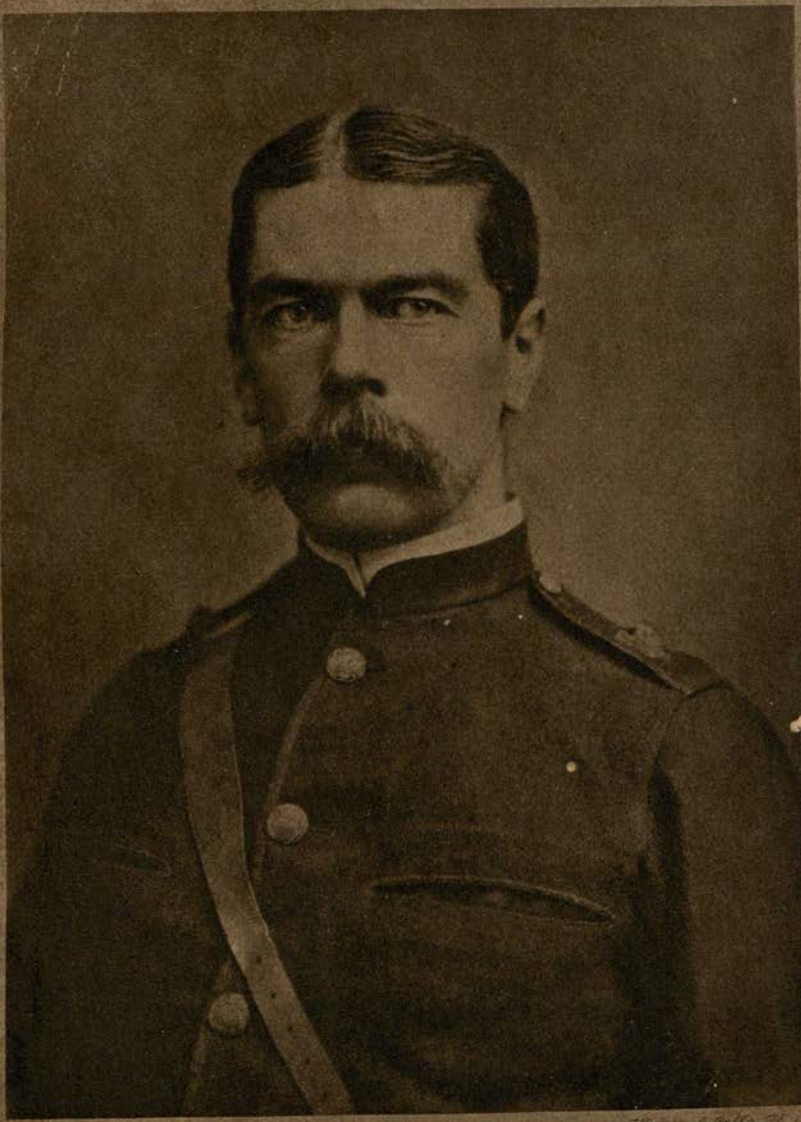

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Sir Herbert Kitchener, K. C. M. G.

INTRODUCTORY

AFRICA is, in political history, at once the oldest and newest of continents. The vast region has, in the north-east, the territory which formed one of the most ancient empires, and, in the south, it shows some of the most modern republics. With the exception of coast-lands, almost the whole intervening region remained for many ages practically unknown to the European world. Africa is, in fact, almost as truly a discovery of the nineteenth century as America was of the fifteenth and sixteenth, and Australia of the eighteenth centuries. All Europe, much of Asia, and the greater part of North and South America, had long been parcelled out into states and colonies, more or less intimately known to, and politically and commercially connected with, each other. Africa had remained, in her great interior bulk, almost unknown to Christian nations, isolated in her native barbarism or in the partial civilisation introduced by the conquests of Islâm. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, the map of the interior, if it were truly drawn, was to a large extent a blank, with its lakes, its rivers, in their middle and upper courses, its great plateau, and the mountains and forests, yet unrevealed. When Europe at last came to rest after a long period of warfare following the greatest political convulsion of modern times, the day of African discovery and exploration dawned. Three-fourths of the

nineteenth century had passed away before earth-hunger and keen commercial competition, and their attendant passion for conquest and colonisation, brought the remarkable historical event, or series of events, known as the 'Partition of Africa,' the diplomatic recognition, in the interests of peace, of the rush of Europeans on a long-neglected prey. The political and diplomatic vocabulary was enriched by a new word and phrase in 'Hinterlands' and 'Spheres of Influence,' or, as the Germans prefer to style the latter 'Spheres of Interest,' and the aboriginal natives, Mohammedan or Pagan, were brought face to face with new conditions of existence, in which breech-loaders, Maxims, rocket-tubes, rifled cannon, steam launches and gunboats—with still more deadly cheap alcohol—not unknown to them before, were to play an effective and conspicuous part. It is the purpose of this work to deal with the events in every part of the African continent which, in the course of the nineteenth century, directly led up to, or were more or less remotely connected with, this embarkation on a new career. The story is one of great interest, with many stirring episodes, and many achievements due to the courage, endurance, resolution and ability of distinguished soldiers, adventurers, pioneers and administrators in an age which is assuredly not the least romantic and heroic period in the history of the world.

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TREATY MAP
OF
AFRICA
By
GEORGE PHILIP & SON, 32, Fleet Street, LONDON.
STATUTE MILES.
EXPLANATION
Treaty Boundaries between Conterminous Powers.
Treaty Boundaries disputed by third party.
Boundaries not definitely laid down.
Railways
1891 Date of Treaty.
Anglo-Egyptian Route. French Routes.
Macdonald's Route. Belgian Route.
British Possessions and Protectorates.
Area under British Chartered Companies.
British Sphere of Influence and Army of Occupation.
French Territory.
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ABYSSINIA
(ETHIOPIA)
Adowa
Adda Abeba
Kaffa
ITALIAN SOMALI COAST
BRITISH EAST AFRICA
GERMAN EAST AFRICA
FRENCH SUDAN
ROYAL NIGER CO.
FRENCH UBANGI
KAMERUN
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(Belgian)
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ANGOLA
(Portuguese)
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PORTUGUESE EAST AFRICA
GERMAN SOUTH WEST AFRICA
BECHUANALAND PROTECTORATE
S. AFRICAN REPUBLIC
CAPE COLONY
MADAGASCAR
SENEGAL
GAMBIA
PORTUGUESE GUINEA
FRENCH GUINEA
LIBERIA
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C. Bojador
Spanish Protectorate
Tropic of Cancer
Equator
Tropic of Capricorn
Fernando Po (Spain)
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St. Thomas (Port.)
Annobon (Spain)
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Walfish B. (Br.) 1884
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Benue R.
Niger R.
Congo R.
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Victoria Nyanza
Lake Rudolf
Lake Tsana
Nile R.
Blue Nile
Webi Shebeli R.
Juba R.
Zambesi R.
Shire R.
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Delagoa B.
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Quelimane
Tete
Zumbo
Salisbury
Bulawayo
Victoria Falls
Barotse
Kafue R.
Zambesi R.
Shire R.
Nyassa
Tanganyika
Kivu

Africa in the Nineteenth Century

CHAPTER I

THE EGYPTIAN REVOLUTION—MOHAMMED ALI AND HIS SUCCESSORS

ON March 2nd 1801 a fleet of 175 sail, including transports, under the command of Admiral Lord Keith, entered Aboukir Bay, the men-of-war casting anchor exactly where Nelson's great conquering battle had been fought, and the *Foudroyant* even chafing her cables against the wreckage of the *L'Orient*. The vessels had aboard a force of 12,000 effective soldiers, including the first battalions of the Coldstreams and the Scots Guards, and the 42nd, 79th and 92nd Highlanders. The whole military armament was under the command of that fine Scottish general, Sir Ralph Abercrombie ; the reserve was in charge of Major-General Moore, the future hero of Corunna. The occasion was one of interest in the fact that this was the first military expedition ever dispatched from the British Isles to Egypt. The object of an enterprise which was well conceived, ably conducted, and completely successful, was the expulsion of the French forces then in possession of the country—troops inured to war, and acclimatised. They had been, since Kléber's assassination, under the command of General Menou, a man of no conspicuous ability, who, having been a baron and officer under Louis XVI., had now, to

conciliate the Egyptians, married the daughter of an official at Rosetta, and also embraced the faith of Islâm. On March 8th the landing of a division of about 3800 men was opposed by about 2000 Frenchmen, including 200 dragoons, with 12 guns, drawn up on the top of a concave arc of sandhills about a mile in length, rising with a very steep slope of loose sand to a height of 50 or 60 feet, in the centre, above the beach. In the face of a heavy fire of shot, shell and grape from the field-pieces—sinking two boats—and of musketry from the French foot, a landing was effected. The enemy were driven off with the bayonet, losing 8 guns, in about twenty minutes, and finally retired, at 11 a.m., before the fire of some field-pieces which Sir Sidney Smith, the hero of St Jean d'Acre, and his tars had, with great exertion, dragged up the sand-hills.

This initial success, gratifying to an army which had often failed in warlike operations during the preceding forty years, was followed, on March 12th, by the smart defeat of 6000 infantry and 600 cavalry, with 24 guns, on the British march from Aboukir to Alexandria. On March 21st, in front of that city, Menou's attempt to surprise the camp brought on a fierce engagement, ending in the enemy's defeat with severe loss. The gallant, good Abercrombie received a mortal wound, and died on board the flagship seven days later, to be buried at Malta, and honoured with a monument in St Paul's. His successor, General Hutchinson, invested Alexandria, took Rosetta, aided by a brigade of Turkish troops, and advanced on Cairo with about 15,000 men. The French forces had suffered severely from plague, and, on preparations for an assault, General Belliard, commanding at Cairo, surrendered, with 10,000 men and 50 guns, on condition of retaining arms and personal property, and being conveyed to France on British ships. This event occurred on June 26th. In July, Menou, with about 12,000 men, capitulated

at Alexandria to a superior force on the same terms. Egypt saw the last of the former French garrison when Menou embarked on September 18th, several hundred of his men remaining behind to embrace Islamism. The British Government had thus attained its end of baffling Bonaparte's designs on our possessions and influence in India. The conditions of warfare in the country in that insanitary age are well illustrated by the facts that, whereas the British troops lost in action 550 officers and men killed, and had over 3150 wounded and missing, 3500 men died in the hospitals, and 200 became blind of one eye, and 160 of both, from ophthalmia. At this heavy cost, the land was delivered from foreign intervention, and the road was left open for the advent and work of the man who was largely, for a long period, to influence her fortunes.

The first regenerator of Egypt, the creator of the country as a modern, almost independent, state, was one of the most distinguished Orientals of all that have appeared since Turkey, early in the sixteenth century, in the days of Sultan Selim I., began to rule in the lower valley of the Nile. Mohammed (otherwise, less correctly, Mehemet) Ali was born in Macedonia in 1769, in an obscure station, and, early left an orphan, was cared for by the deputy-governor of his native town. Devoid of regular education, the lad early showed ability for the business of life, and in 1799 went to Egypt, in an Albanian contingent, to fight against the French. Courage and a cool head raised him to a major's rank, and, on the conclusion of the warfare, he became chief of the Egyptian police under a new governor, Khosrew or Khousreff Pasha, a man of mark who survived to take part in Turkish councils at the time of the Crimean War. Mohammed, already revolving ambitious schemes, made friends on all sides by artful conciliation, and became master of Cairo in May 1803, after the flight of the Pasha had been caused by a revolt of the troops for lack of pay. The chief obstacle in his progress to a higher position was

the domination of the Mameluke Beys, the heads of a military caste of great importance in Egyptian history. In the thirteenth century a successor of the famous Saladin, the antagonist of Richard I. of England, formed a body-guard for himself as Sultan of Egypt, composed of white slaves imported from the Caucasus and Asia Minor. The military prowess of these prætorians enabled them to set up a ruler from their own ranks, and for over two centuries, until the Ottoman conquest in 1517, Mameluke Sultans, the suzerains of a large body of Mameluke lords holding much of the land on a kind of feudal tenure, ruled in Egypt with great ability and with benefit to the country in their maintenance of order, construction of public works, and promotion of education, literature and art. After the Turkish conquest, the Egyptian provinces were left in charge of twenty-four Mameluke Beys, who held the chief power, while the Pasha had but a shadow of authority. Their military repute had suffered through defeat by Bonaparte's infantry, but when the British evacuated the country in March 1803, they had begun to raise their heads again and to grasp at their former supremacy in the land. The Turkish party, supporting the cause of the Porte, had irritated, without seriously weakening, the Mamelukes by the treacherous slaughter of some of the Beys at Alexandria and at Cairo. They were still masters of much of Upper and Lower Egypt, and Mohammed Ali, in pursuit of his plans, made alliance with them against Khousreff Pasha, the nominal governor, who had taken up his position at Damietta. Their united forces carried the place by storm, and Khousreff was conducted, in mock state, to Cairo. A new governor arrived from Constantinople in January 1804, but he was promptly exiled to Syria by the Mamelukes, and put to death on the road thither. Mohammed Ali, after helping one powerful Bey to crush a rival, turned upon the victor, demanded arrears of pay, the provision of which compelled heavy exactions; won popularity by

denouncing this financial oppression; and in March 1804 drove the Bey and his men out of Cairo, and sent Khousreff back to Constantinople.

A state of anarchy followed under the nominal sway of another Pasha sent out by the Porte, and Mohammed's influence grew through his resistance to the oppressive imposts of the new governor. His time came when, in May 1805, the sheikhs or leading civilians at Cairo proclaimed him 'Pasha,' an honour which he accepted after an interval of feigned reluctance. In July, during a siege of the Cairo citadel, held by the deposed governor, Mohammed was appointed by the Porte to rule the country, and on August 3rd he entered the citadel, the tenure of which fortress has been, since the days of its builder Saladin, the recognised proof of the actual possession of authority in Egypt. Thus high had he risen from a combination of physical, intellectual and social qualities—courage, self-possession, sagacity, cunning, courtesy, generosity in largesses to all who served his turn. The Mamelukes still barred the way to his possession of complete actual as well as official power, and with them he dealt in a manner which was decisive and effectual, while it sullied his name as the perpetrator of great historical crimes, not worthy to rank indeed with the author of 'Saint Bartholomew,' or with the 'Great Assassin' of Armenia, but high up among those guilty of minor atrocities, men who, not naturally bloodthirsty, have, for political ends, been wholly unscrupulous in the use of combined force and fraud. In August 1805 a body of Mamelukes, enticed into Cairo by a promise of surrendering the city to their possession on payment of a large sum, were suddenly assailed by musketry from the houses in the main thoroughfare of the bazaars, leading to the citadel, and all those who, helpless on horseback against invisible assailants, were not at once shot down, or who did escape amid the confusion, after dismounting, were made prisoners in a mosque, surrendering their arms on condition

of their lives being spared. On the next morning all were massacred, save those who paid a heavy ransom for life and liberty. The Porte displayed some jealousy of Mohammed's growing power, and even dispatched a squadron carrying a new governor. Mohammed evaded the danger by skill and good fortune. He induced the leading men—including the Ulema, or the theological, legal and judicial class—of Cairo to petition the Sultan in behalf of his retention as the best of possible rulers. The Mamelukes who were now supporting the cause of the Sultan in Lower Egypt were divided among themselves; the Capitan Pasha or High Admiral, who had brought out the new ruler, was bribed, and sailed for Constantinople with rich presents from Mohammed for the Sultan. In the prospect of war with Russia, the Porte then resolved to keep Mohammed in power, and in November 1806 he received the firmans formally appointing him Pasha of Egypt.

He was soon summoned to deal with a now forgotten, foolish and futile British intervention, due to a quarrel with the Porte. In the hope of reviving the rule of the Mamelukes, a brigade of 5000 men, under General Fraser, was dispatched from Messina to Alexandria. The town, under the guns of a fleet, surrendered without firing a shot. The commander, attacking Rosetta with 1500 men in order to secure supplies of food, was repulsed with heavy loss by fire from the housetops and the windows. Mohammed was at this time engaged against the Mamelukes in Upper Egypt, but he returned to Cairo with his usual energy and promptitude when he heard of the invasion, and appealed to the patriotic and religious sympathies of the Sheikhs and the Ulema. He was instantly supplied with ample funds and stores, and marched for Rosetta, which he reached after General Fraser's discomfiture. Another British force of 2500 men arrived on the coast, but little could be done against Mohammed's superior numbers and resources, and the invaders found themselves blockaded at

Alexandria. Mohammed was far too wise to press matters to extremity against British foes, and when their Government recognised the inutility of the enterprise, he accompanied the withdrawal by the restoration, with acts of courtesy, of prisoners taken at Rosetta.

The Pasha was now safe from external foes, and he had no fear of intrigues at Constantinople against his authority, knowing that his strong rule of a country redeemed from recent anarchy and invasion made him necessary to the Porte. He proceeded to consolidate his power by an almost unparalleled act of spoliation—a revolutionary transfer of landed property. During the years 1808 to 1810 the title-deeds were inspected by his agents. Many were destroyed; many were declared to be invalid on various pretexts; and in a few years the Pasha became landlord of most of the soil. The Mamelukes, left alone for a time, and hopeless of regaining their former supremacy, appeared to present no perils for a despotic ruler, but Mohammed had resolved to be finally rid of them. Many of them were living slothful and sensual lives at and near Cairo, and these and others were invited—to the number of 480—to a banquet in the citadel on March 1st 1811, on the occasion of Mohammed's son, Toussoun Pasha, being invested with the pelisse of command for an expedition against the Wahabi fanatics in Arabia. It should be stated, in justice to Mohammed, that he had recently discovered the existence of a conspiracy of the Beys for a sudden attack upon him in conjunction with the Pasha of Acre. Almost the whole body of the invited Beys and their followers attended at the citadel, gorgeously dressed, splendidly armed, and mounted on their fine, richly-decked steeds. A procession was formed for a visit to the camp, and when the victims had left the fortress and were involved in a steep, winding, narrow road cut in the rock, and enclosed on both sides by high walls and ruined buildings, the gates at each end of the road were closed and a musketry fire was opened on them from all sides. Many

fell, and all who surrendered were at once beheaded. Of the 460 Mamelukes who, in the pride and vigour of life, had ridden that morning to the citadel, not one escaped. Their houses in the town were given up to the pillage and other outrage of the soldier-murderers who had slain the heads of the households. On the following day Mohammed, with a large force, restored order in the city, rebuking the chiefs of police for permitting such work, and executing some of the plunderers. The terrible tragedy at Cairo citadel was followed by the murder of all Mamelukes found hiding in the town, and by the slaughter of above 600 in the provinces. The Mamelukes, as a political and social force in Egypt, had ceased to exist.

We have here no concern with Mohammed Ali's subsequent revolt from the Porte; his conquest of Syria through the able generalship of his adopted son, Ibrahim Pasha; his reduction to obedience by the intervention of some of the Powers—Russia, Austria and Great Britain. But for that intervention he would, beyond doubt, have died Sultan of Turkey. We turn to his extensive and ambitious reforms, ineffective to a large degree because their author overshot the mark and was engaged in filling old bottles with new wine. As regards the civilising process, he began at the top with educational institutes on the French model, instead of starting his work in the national schools for the Fellahin, or tillers of the soil, the great bulk of the people, who are descendants of the ancient Egyptians, with a mixture of Syrians, Arabs, and other races of Islâm. The young peasants sent to Paris to acquire learning, and become engineers, physicians, diplomatists and civil servants, showed great capacity in many cases, but they often failed in practical work on their return to Egypt from the lack of 'grit' and of confidence in themselves under novel circumstances. In seeking to extend the frontier of the country, Mohammed dispatched an army, trained and armed in the European style, up the Nile in 1820. About 4000 foot,

under Ismail Pasha, one of Mohammed's sons, were gathered at Assouan. A cavalry force ascended the valley by land, and the troops passed from Assouan into Nubia. An attack of several thousand Arabs mounted on horses and dromedaries was easily repelled by a steady, well-aimed fire, and the expedition arrived at Berber and Shendy, receiving the submission of the chiefs. The country was annexed to the Pashalic of Egypt, but the leader, Ismail, was soon afterwards assassinated at Shendy by a patriot 'Malek,' or petty king, and this event was followed by years of revolt, massacre, pillage and conflagration, into the details of which we need not enter.

Mohammed Ali, along with his creation of a new army and navy, devised schemes for developing the agriculture and commerce of the country. The American 'sea-island' cotton, indigo and opium became objects of tillage and production. The restored canal of Alexandria connected the port with the Nile, the fertile Delta and the populous capital, Cairo. A new Alexandria of European villas and gardens arose, and great English, French and Greek mercantile firms carried on a lucrative trade. The energetic ruler was unwise in attempting to combine manufactures with the production of raw material. The country was devoid of coal and of skilled labour, and Mr Cobden, when he visited Egypt in 1836, was shocked by the sight of costly and splendid cotton mills which had gone to decay. A great service was rendered to the people by the establishment, under French supervision, of medical institutions in Cairo and the provinces, including both civil and army hospitals. The insane were treated in the modern humane European fashion, instead of being chained like wild beasts in barred dens. A council of public instruction caused the translation into Arabic of many European scientific works for use in the medical and polytechnic schools. The internal government of the country was revolutionised through the absorption of most of the land by the Pasha. He organised

a new bureaucracy of provincial governors, whose business it was to maintain the irrigation canals, to apportion the tillage of the land, and to collect the harvest and the revenue. Under the governors were minor officials to supervise details, armed with summary powers of police. Egypt became, in fact, a huge farm, held at a nominal rental of the Sultan, with Mohammed Ali as the occupant, the bureaucracy as his overseers, and the people of Egypt as the farm labourers. It was a compact, symmetrical and powerful new state which had arisen, with a terrible head of affairs who, as he made his periodical visitations, riding on his big white mule, would have oppressive, dishonest and undutiful governors and judges bastinadoed in his presence, as if they were criminal fellahin. It need hardly be stated that, as Mohammed could not, with the utmost diligence and goodwill, know a tithe of what really occurred, the pressure on countless persons was very severe. The townspeople also suffered from a capitation tax rigorously exacted. The best side of this Pasha's rule was seen in the improved police which protected foreigners from native insolence and fanaticism, and turned the wild Bedouins of the outskirts into breeders of camels and carriers of merchandise. Long before the end of Mohammed Ali's career, the journey from the Mediterranean to Nubia, in a region previously most unsafe for European travellers, was as secure as that from London to Liverpool. We may observe that, on his submission to the Porte in 1841, his ambition was gratified in receiving the hereditary rule of Egypt, and that in 1842 the dignity of Grand Vizier was conferred upon him. In that and the following years the country was severely visited by cattle murrain, and the condition of the peasantry was greatly aggravated.

Among Mohammed Ali's services to the country and its capital we must not fail to mention the improved administration of justice in civil as well as in criminal cases. Some barbarous modes of punishment, as those of

skinning alive and impalement, were abolished, and the cutting off of a thief's right hand was exchanged for the punishment of work in chains, and branding on the hand as a mark of infamy. Irrigation was extended by the making of new canals in the Delta. The upper part of Cairo was well supplied with water from new works, instead of being dependent on purchase from the people who drove a trade by conveying it in skins on asses' backs. The printing press, on a large scale, was set up at Boulak, by the riverside, near the capital. This was not a mercantile speculation on the part of the ruler, but intended as a means of spreading a taste for reading among a people that for three centuries had ceased to be literary, and the prices of the books, chiefly dealing with modern science and literature, and especially with medicine, were very low. A part of the system of a ruler who greatly depended on the services of Europeans was the enforcement of toleration of 'Franks,' Frank science and Frank usages, on the unwilling Moslem, and his efforts in this direction had much success.

Shrewd Mohammed Ali was well aware of the limitations imposed on him by stern facts in his efforts to create a new Egypt. Abounding in courtesy towards strangers who sought his presence—diplomatic or commercial agents, or travellers passing through the valley of the Nile—the great Pasha, free from all pomp and hauteur in his demeanour, plainly attired, with no adornment save a scrupulous, almost coquettish, neatness and freshness; with features expressive of calm dignity and benevolent good-humour, and with an eye never dead or quiescent, but sometimes fascinating as that of a gazelle, or, in a stormy moment, fierce as the eagle's, would speak of himself and his position with the utmost frankness. 'I had not the benefits of early education,' he said to Sir John Bowring. 'I was forty-seven years old when I learned to read and write. . . . I do not expect to do what you English

are able to do, and to reach the height at which you have arrived. The difficulty is to begin. I had to begin by scratching the soil of Egypt with a pin. I have now got to cultivating it with a spade; but I mean to have all the benefit of a plough. . . . Do not judge me by the standard of your knowledge. Compare me with the ignorance that is around me. We cannot apply the same rules to Egypt as to England. Centuries have been required to bring you to your present state; I have had only a few years. You have numbers of intelligent persons who comprehend their rulers and carry on their work. I can find very few to understand me and do my bidding. I am often deceived, and I know I am deceived; whereas many are deceived and do not know it. . . . We cannot go on as fast as we wish, nor do everything we desire to do. If I were to put on Colonel Campbell's trousers (looking at the Consul-General, six feet high, the Pasha being short and stout), would that make me as tall as Colonel Campbell? Europeans who come to Egypt often think that they can do with Arabs just what they can do with their own people. They are wanting what they cannot get, and fancy the Arabs will work as Europeans work, and this cannot be. . . . Your country has reached its present eminence by the labours of many generations; and no country can be made suddenly great and flourishing. Now I have done something for Egypt. I have begun to improve her. . . . In your country you must have a great many hands to move the machine of State; I move it with my own. I do not always exactly see what is best to be done, but when I do see it, I compel prompt obedience to my wishes, and what is seemingly best *is* done.' These remarks of the Pasha, at once humorous and pathetic, well illustrate the position of an enlightened and able despot, possessing the masculine intelligence and will needful for governing Orientals, and striving to galvanise a

long dead country and people into a new life of progress and prosperity. It may be fairly allowed that Mohammed Ali did succeed in evolving order out of chaos; in forcing matters in Egypt into some sort of shape, and in transmitting to his successors the rude outline of an European state.

We conclude our account of his career with some facts closely connected with his remark to Sir John Bowring: 'The English have made many great discoveries, but the best of their discoveries is that of steam navigation.' It was in this Pasha's days that the overland transit to India by way of Egypt was resumed, and that steam navigation on the Nile was developed. In the latter part of the eighteenth century the British Government, looking to the extension of the empire in India, had seen the necessity of having a more direct communication between this country and her Eastern dependency than the lengthy route round the Cape. Two vessels were fitted out for passage between Suez and Bombay, but the little known navigation of the dangerous Red Sea, and the anarchical condition of Egypt under the rule of the Mamelukes, allowed no great advantage in point of time, and none in regard to safety, for this course, over the longer voyage with its ample sea-room and steady trade winds. A change of circumstances came with the state of peace and order created by Mohammed Ali. The transit between Alexandria and Suez was safe. The development of steam navigation and the charting of perilous points in the Red Sea permitted a swift passage southwards and eastwards from the Red Sea port. The merchants of London and the East demanded an efficient service of steamships between this country and Egypt, with a continuation from Suez to Bombay. In December 1836 the *Atalanta*, a vessel of 630 tons and 210 horse-power, built at Blackwall, for the East India Company, by Wigram & Green, began to ply on the Indian

side of the route. It was in the year of Queen Victoria's accession that the great, flourishing, popular 'P. and O.' began its work as the 'Peninsular Company,' carrying the mails, first to Portugal and Spain, and afterwards to Egypt. In 1840 the great association was incorporated, under Royal Charter, in its present form. A fine fleet of steamships by degrees arose, and from 1840 onwards, under contract with the Government, their vessels ran at regular intervals on the Mediterranean, and on the Red Sea and Indian Ocean parts of the route to Bombay and Calcutta. In 1838 a monthly overland service was started for the conveyance of mails across Egypt. The real pioneer of the swifter 'Overland Route' of those days was Lieutenant Waghorn of the Royal Navy, a man of great enterprise and determination, activity and shrewdness, who, carrying a single carpet bag of letters, arrived in London on October 31st 1845, by way of Austria, Bavaria, Prussia and Belgium, only thirty days after leaving Bombay.

Mohammed Ali, after a decay of intellectual power and the assumption of rule by his stepson, Ibrahim Pasha, died in August 1849, surviving Ibrahim by a few months, and succeeded by his grandson, Abbas Pasha, son of the Ismail who was murdered at Shendy in the Sudan. The six years' tenure of power by Abbas, a man of loathsome life, needs no word here. His death by assassination in 1854 was a benefit to Egypt in opening the way for Said, son of Mohammed Ali, and a man of very enlightened views. Said Pasha, devoted to the cause of western civilisation for his country, hospitable, a brilliant French scholar, a very European in his way of life, encouraged foreign immigration, and installed able men of various European nations in all the important administrative posts. Many pernicious restrictions on trade and commerce were removed, and the toilers of the country, the hapless fellahin, began to be treated as something better than mere creatures to be worked and taxed to exhaustion and death. In 1858 the

railway from Suez to Alexandria, by way of Cairo, was opened, and telegraph wires and machinery of all kinds became familiar to the Egyptian mind. There was a great increase of revenue, and also, through expenditure on public works, the beginning of a national debt. Above all, it was Said Pasha who first favoured the great project of a Frenchman of remarkable genius and determination, Ferdinand Lesseps, and from the first liberally aided his work. The idea, nay, the fact, of connecting the Nile Delta and the Red Sea by a waterway was very ancient. In the fourteenth century B.C., under Seti I. and Ramessu (Ramesses) II., a canal had been dug. This excavation was silted up by Nile mud and desert sand, and an attempt to reopen it, made under Neco (Neku) in the seventh century B.C. was foiled by excessive loss of life among the labourers. Darius I. (Hystaspis) of Persia, at the beginning of the fifth century B.C., opened the canal, and, after being again choked, the passage was cleared and made serviceable for boats after the Arab conquest of Egypt. Napoleon had his mind drawn to the plan of connecting the two seas by a canal wide enough and deep enough for ocean ships; but his engineer, Le Père, caused the renunciation of the project by an erroneous report that the surface of the Red Sea was about 30 feet higher than that of the Mediterranean. English officers of engineers, by survey made in 1841, ascertained the truth, and Lesseps, born at Versailles in 1805, turning his mind to civil engineering after a diplomatic career, undertook a careful study of the isthmus. He finally chose a different line from his ancient Egyptian predecessors. He took a nearly straight course from south to north, passing well to the east outside the Delta, and making use of the expanses of water called the Bitter Lakes, 23 miles in length, on the south; Lake Timsah, 5 miles long, in the centre; Lake Ballah, 10 miles across, northwards again; and Lake Menzaleh, a great coast lagoon 28 miles in breadth, on the north. His

projected work would thus end in the Mediterranean at a point about 30 miles south-east of the Damietta mouth of the Nile. In January 1856 Said Pasha gave a letter of concession to the 'Maritime Suez Canal Company,' the ruler of Egypt furnishing half the capital, and the other half being subscribed in Europe, chiefly in France. The British Premier, Lord Palmerston, looked coldly on the plan, and British engineers, including Robert Stephenson, prophesied failure. Happily for their country, these men were wrong. On April 25th 1859, the first spadeful of earth was turned at Port Said, and there were soon nearly 30,000 men engaged on the work. There were some delays in the operations. It was found necessary, in 1862, in order to supply the workmen with drinking water, to complete the canal from the Nile to Ismailia, on Lake Timsah. In 1863 Ismail, son of the great commander Ibrahim, became 'Vali' (Viceroy) on the death of Said, and then it was needful to conciliate the new ruler, who refused to ratify the concessions made to the Company, by allowing him to redeem them for a large sum—nearly four millions sterling. When work was resumed in 1863, it went on continuously until the opening of the canal on November 17th 1869, the great work having been completed at a cost of nearly twenty millions of pounds sterling. The total length is about 100 miles; the widening and deepening, rendered necessary by the enormous traffic, and begun in 1886, have now given a bottom width of 144 feet between Port Said and the Bitter Lakes, and thence to Suez of 210 feet. The minimum depth is 28 feet. At Port Said, on the Mediterranean, two massive breakwaters, respectively $1\frac{1}{3}$ and $1\frac{1}{7}$ miles in length, were built out into the sea, and like protection in a strong piece of work is given at Suez. We need not dwell on the enormous importance to the world of this provision of a brief passage to the East and to Australasia. In 1870, 486 ships, of 655,000 tons, used the canal on payment of £206,000; in 1896 there were 3409 vessels, of over twelve

millions gross tonnage, and the Company's receipts exceeded £3,180,000. What the great waterway means to this country and what this country's position is in the commerce of the world, are shown in some figures of startling eloquence. In the year 1896 Great Britain sent through 2162 vessels, of 8,057,000 tons; Germany, 322, of 1,120,000; France, 218, of nearly 820,000; Italy, 230, of 594,000; Holland, 200, of 521,000. Great Britain's tonnage using the canal thus more than doubled that of all other countries in the world together. The signal triumph won by Lesseps was rewarded in his own country by the Grand Cross of the Legion of Honour and the dignity of 'Vicomte'; in Great Britain by the Honorary Knight Grand Commandership of the Order of the Star of India and the freedom of the City of London.

Under Ismail Pasha's rule the condition of affairs known as the 'Egyptian Question' arose. Ismail was a man worthy, in his ambitious desire to aggrandise his family, to be a successor of Mohammed Ali. In 1866 his title was changed by an Imperial firman from 'Vali' to that of, in Persian-Arabic, 'Khidêwi-Misr,' popularly styled 'Khedive,' and, at the same time, he purchased from the Sultan, by raising the amount of his annual tribute to the Porte from £376,000 to £720,000, the privilege of having the succession to power in Egypt made direct from father to son, instead of its descent by Turkish law to the eldest heir. Another firman of 1873 conceded the right of making commercial treaties with foreign Powers, and of maintaining an Egyptian army. His services to the country, on the lines initiated by his grandfather, and continued by Said Pasha, were considerable. The Delta had a network of railways; telegraph wires were carried through the land. Steam traffic was advanced even into Upper Egypt, and the wires were extended by his conquering arms to Khartum. In Middle and Upper Egypt the traveller beheld, to right and left of his road, fields of the tall, juicy sugar-

cane introduced from India, and the smoking chimney-shafts of the factories where the Khedive, the greatest sugar-boiler and sugar merchant in the world, carried on his operations. The tillage of the country grew with a new system of canals and sluices, cut in well-chosen places and admirably finished. Large areas of desert began to smile with vegetation, and the population rapidly increased. The weak side of Ismail was his lavish expenditure. The money of Egypt ran between his fingers like desert sand. With true Oriental pride, not unmingled with policy in setting the newspaper correspondents at work to spread his fame for hospitality through Europe, the Khedive, on the opening of the canal, made a festival far exceeding anything of that class in the nineteenth century for splendid and lavish entertainment. The scenes portrayed in the *Arabian Nights* were equalled by the display then seen in balls, illuminations, reviews and fireworks; the tables ever laden with food for thousands of guests; the gay excursions on the Nile. The eyes of the world were fixed on Egypt, and the country and its ruler were advertised at the cost of many millions of francs. The cause of civilisation was really served by the creation and improvement of roads, bridges, harbours and lighthouses; by the spread of education; by a new postal service, and by the establishment of 'mixed' courts of law for dealing with cases in which foreigners were concerned. Less legitimate openings for expenditure were found in costly villas and yachts, opera-singers, gorgeous theatrical scenes, and 'ladies of the ballet.' The extension of dominion, in 1874, southwards to Dar-Fûr was preceded and attended by efforts, partly designed to conciliate European philanthropists, to suppress the slave trade in the Sudan. The adventurous and energetic Sir Samuel Baker, whom we shall shortly see in the field of geographical discovery, commanded an expedition in 1869-73, the chief objects of which were the annexation of territory in the equatorial Nile

region, and the hunting down of slave raiders and slave dealers.

The work of Baker was taken up in 1873 by the immortal 'Gordon Pasha,' of the Royal Engineers, born at Woolwich in 1833, a soldier first actively engaged in the trenches before Sebastopol; the able commander in China of Imperial forces against the Tâiping rebels, fighting thirty-three battles and capturing many walled towns within eighteen months, coming thus to a front rank among the military leaders of the age, and returning from the East, after two splendidly victorious campaigns, no richer than when he took the field. For three years, 1874-5-6, this hero contended with all difficulties and dangers due to natural obstacles and conditions, and to the hostility of man. In a climate of fearful heat he established a chain of armed posts along the Nile, and maintained the Khedive's power on waters far distant from Cairo by setting steamers, brought from Egypt in sections, afloat above the last rapid, and navigating the Albert Nyanza lake. After a visit to England at the close of 1876, Gordon became 'Governor-General of the Sudan,' with authority over a territory extending from the Second Cataract to the Great Lakes, and from the Red Sea shores to the source of rivers flowing into Lake Tchad. Among his services to the Khedive was the conclusion of a treaty with King John of Abyssinia. In the cause of humanity his heart was set on the extermination of the slave trade, and for the slaves, ubiquitous in his swift journeyings and his incessant toil, he encountered—living for months, as it were, on his camel's back—the fiercest rays of the sun, the terrors of sandstorm and simoom, and the perils of encountering, with scanty forces, the savage bands led by slave-raiders or rebellious chiefs. The hearts of the people were won by his accessibility to all petitioners. The Sudan became, for the first time, the abode of authority based on law and justice, and sustained by unfailing firmness and valour. Early in 1880

Gordon resigned his command, and with him departed, for many years, all hope of extinguishing the slave trade in the vast regions where his name and his presence had inspired all evil-doers with awe. At this point we must leave Egypt and her affairs, and, passing almost due south for nearly five thousand miles in a bird's flight from Cairo, look at men and events at the Cape of Good Hope.

CHAPTER II

BRITISH RULE AT THE CAPE—1806 TO 1875

THE Cape territory was first settled in 1652 by Dutchmen dispatched from Holland by the Netherlands East India Company, not, at first, with the intention of founding a colony in the true sense, but as an outpost of the East Indian possessions—a place of call for vessels passing to and fro between Holland and Batavia. Van Riebeek, the leader of the little expedition, comprising somewhat more than a hundred people, chiefly soldiers and sailors, built a little fort, and laid out ground on which vegetables were grown for the supply of the garrison and of passing ships. The new-comers found Hottentots and Bushmen roaming the country. The former were a pastoral nomad race, living on the produce of their flocks and herds, on game, and on whatever food the soil supplied without tillage. They were an inferior race, both as toilers and as fighters, and the only warfare between them and the colonists arose from occasional raids of native cattle robbers. The tribes of the great Bantu stock were, at that time, far away to the north and east, and the first Dutchmen saw nothing of Kaffirs, Zulus, Pondos, Tembus, Matabele, Basutos or Bechuanas. The Bushmen, a race of comparative dwarfs, were mere savages living in caves, hunters and pillagers, outcasts hated and slain alike by Hottentots and whites. Many Hottentots became half servants, half slaves, to the Europeans. The tribe, as represented by certain chiefs,

was cheated out of lands acquired by the Dutchmen in 'sales' for a tenth of the real value, and matters went on quietly in the absence of attack from any European power. The Governor appointed by the Company was a despot, and the only political liberty enjoyed by the settlers was that of sharing, through one or more of their number, in the Council of Justice when that tribunal tried any of their fellow-colonists. They were servants of the Company, not free citizens, and were obliged to sell their corn, at a fixed price, to the Company's officials. In the eighteenth century many slaves were brought from Madagascar and Malaysia, and were not, on the whole, unkindly treated. Little exploration or extension of territory took place, and it was not until the end of the seventeenth century that the colony, reinforced by the arrival of marriageable women from Holland, and of some hundreds of Huguenots—a valuable accession, exiled through the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685—had more than 1000 European permanent settlers. The eighteenth century was a period of stagnation and decline under faulty administration, except from 1751 to 1771, when 'good Governor Tulbagh,' long remembered and revered, was in power. The farmers, by degrees, 'trekked' away inland from the neighbourhood of the Cape, in order to be their own masters, and became the sturdy, isolated 'Boers' of recent history. In 1760 the Orange River—named from the Stadtholder of the Netherlands—was first crossed by Europeans, and the Dutch soon came into contact with the Kaffirs moving down from the north-east. The first of a long series of Kaffir wars began, the natives, after some severe fighting, being driven back, in 1781, beyond the Great Fish River.

In 1770 the colony had been found to contain about 10,000 Europeans, including 1700 servants of the Company, a majority of the whole number of free colonists being children. With the decline of Dutch power, as contrasted with that of Great Britain and France, days of

danger for the colony from foreign foes had arrived. In December 1780 war with Great Britain arose, but an expedition dispatched against the Cape from our shores was baffled by a French squadron under the able Suffren. The colonists became greatly discontented with the Company's rule, and the successful revolt of the British colonists in America made their grievances harder to bear. An appeal to the Company caused some inadequate reforms, and the colony was going fast to financial ruin when the end of the Company's power came in a sort of submission to Kaffir invaders, hopeless bankruptcy, the conquest of the Netherlands by the French in 1793, and the seizure of the Cape by a strong British force two years later, at the instigation of the hereditary Stadtholder, the Prince of Orange, then an exile on English soil. The first British occupation lasted until 1803 under rule of the territory as a Crown colony, with freedom of trade, and some warfare against Kaffirs, Hottentots and recalcitrant Dutch farmers, or Boers, in the Graaf Reinet country. The Peace of Amiens restored the territory to the 'Batavian Republic,' as the Dutch Netherlands had now become, and the Dutch held it for nearly three years from February 1803. The mother country, when British fleets commanded the seas, could do nothing to defend the colony, but the Governor, General Janssens, a zealous and able ruler, made preparations against attack, in the way of burgher levies, Hottentot infantry, the crews of two French ships, and a few regular troops. In January 1806 a British squadron, under Commodore Popham, carrying over 6000 soldiers, commanded by General David Baird, appeared off Table Bay, and the forces were landed about 18 miles north of Capetown. Against choice British troops, including a Highland brigade, Janssens was helpless. His men were speedily routed, and the capital surrendered on January 10th, an event followed within a few days by a capitulation surrendering the colony finally, as it proved, to British

possession. The formal cession, under the Peace of 1814, was due to purchase of the colony, along with the territories now forming British Guiana, for the sum of six millions sterling. Thus did Great Britain acquire at the Cape of Good Hope a commanding position on the commercial route to her Eastern dependencies, the right of free access for Dutch ships to all ports of the colony being conceded.

The boundaries of the territory at that time were the ocean on the west and south; the Great Fish River, roughly speaking, on the east; the Buffalo and Zak Rivers on the north-west, and a line drawn from the Zak nearly to the Orange River on the north-east. The first form of rule for a colony numbering about 26,000 Europeans, 30,000 slaves, and 20,000 half-breed and Hottentot servants, was autocratic, under the just and kindly Earl of Caledon (1806-11) and Sir John Cradock (1811-14). The Hottentots were preserved from ruin, if not from extinction, by proclamations making them subject to European law instead of a really anarchical condition under petty chiefs, and compelling them to adopt a fixed position on certain 'reserves' as tillers, hunters or cattle owners, or in the service of white men, instead of their previous vagabond life. The colonists were divided into townspeople, of whom 6000 resided in the capital; grain farmers, graziers, and, near to Cape Town, vine-growers descended from the Huguenot immigrants at the end of the seventeenth century. The character of the Boers forming the great majority of the free population is worthy of note. From an early period of the Dutch colonisation there was frequent 'trekking' among the farmers, or emigration from a settled district to the inner wilds. Northwards from the peninsula the country rises in terraces, separated by mountain ranges. The distribution of water is unequal, and the 'Boers' became a class, living either a nomadic life, with their huge waggons, as they wandered across dusty, almost treeless, plains in

search of watered, fertile valleys among the hills, or settled in isolation on ground suitable for tillage and pasture. The character of the 'Boer' was thus formed, through the irritating interference of the Netherlands Company's officials, driving him to seek a place of perfect freedom, as that of a man accustomed to live alone and impatient of control; half wild in his strength and independence of spirit, his loss of fitness for political and social combination, and of willingness to submit to rule and restraint in the interests of true progress and civilisation. His religion was the stern Calvinism of the Dutch Reformed Church. The Bible was his only book, and in that book his favourite pages were those of the Old Testament, dear, in its harsh morality and severe justice, to the English Puritans who murdered their fallen sovereign. The Boers, in the wilderness, as they wandered far afield, came into conflict with Bushmen and Kaffirs, and their spirits and tempers were not softened thereby. Unstirred and unfreshened in thought by any contact with men from the outer world of constant progress and change, with slaves and Hottentots as their dependants, and no society of equals save that of other Boers, they were in many cases somewhat sullen and unsympathetic; seldom inhuman or depraved; generally shrewd, prudent, persevering, good-humoured and hospitable.

The state of the colony was in no small degree wrought upon by the missionaries sent forth under the influence of the new British religious and philanthropic movement which marked the latter half of the eighteenth and the earlier years of the nineteenth century. In the latest days of Dutch rule Moravian preachers did good work among the Hottentots. The London Missionary Society took the field in 1799; the Wesleyans in 1816; the Glasgow Missionary Society in 1821. Great friction arose between the missionaries, who asserted that the colonists were cruel to the native population, and the settlers, who declared that, as a class, they were libelled. Excellent work was

assuredly done by the missionaries as pioneers of discovery and civilisation, a large proportion of their number being shrewd, hardy, zealous, tenacious and enterprising Scots. Not so good was the effect of their testimony against the Dutch colonists upon the humanitarians at home. An impulsive class of philanthropic politicians were induced to work upon the minds of weak Whig officials in charge of colonial affairs. The representations of governors were unheeded, and, as we shall see, evil results followed the action of Downing Street in neglect of the wishes and judgment of the Europeans on the spot, whose interests were most closely concerned. On the whole, apart from their religious and civilising work, the missionaries did much to draw British attention to a colony little known, valued only as a station on the way to India, and regarded as fit only for the rough Dutchmen, Hottentots and Kaffirs who dwelt there. The world of Great Britain became aware of the existence of territory, northwards from the Cape, that was worth possessing, and missionary travel was the beginning of the movement which has taken our countrymen from the Orange River to the Zambesi, and from the Zambesi to the Equator. To these ministers of religion is also due the solution of the problem as to how white men and black men could live peaceably together in a vast region where the natives are not likely to practically vanish from the scene before the advance of a superior race, as in North America and Australasia.

The great want of the colony was an increase of its European population, and, in the overstocked condition of the labour market in the British Isles on the conclusion of the great Napoleonic war, the Home Government sought to remedy this evil. It was desirable to provide on the north-east border a human barrier against Kaffir incursions. In 1811 and 1812 it had been needful to employ regular troops and 'Burgher' levies, with the Cape regiment of Hottentots, to expel many thousands of intruders of the

Kosa clan, and Grahamstown was founded with the name of the commander, Colonel Graham, who had driven the Kaffirs beyond the Great Fish River. The place was the chief point on a line of military posts in that quarter. In 1817 a demand for European artizans brought the useful addition of about 200 Scottish mechanics, and some hundreds of soldiers and sailors, taking their discharge in the colony, easily found employment. In 1820 and 1821 a regular scheme of settlement, with a vote of £50,000 from Parliament, took about 4000 colonists to the district called Albany, about 100 miles inland, north-east from Algoa Bay. Many of the people were not well selected for their new life and scene of labour, and much difficulty and some suffering were the result. The majority, being trained mechanics, found employment in different parts. The arrival of so large a body of men in a rising state gave a strong and growing British element to the population, and the eastern districts became, as they are still, the most British part of Cape Colony. Port Elizabeth, named from the wife of the acting Governor, Sir Rufane Donkin, was founded. In the Albany district, we may observe, slavery was prohibited, and not only was the cause of personal freedom promoted by the influx of free labour, but the day of constitutional rule was hastened by the presence of those who, unlike the Dutchmen, were trained in self-government under representative institutions.

Lord Charles Somerset was in power as Governor, with an interval of absence in England, from 1814 to 1826. He was a man of arbitrary character in his method of rule, restricting the liberty of the press and the right of public meeting. In 1815 he aroused a bitter feeling amongst the Dutch by hanging five of the insurgents who surrendered after a small Boer rising on the eastern frontier. More fighting with the Kaffirs occurred. In the war of 1818-19 Grahamstown was attacked, but the Kosas were repulsed with very severe loss, and, in order that they

might no longer find shelter in the pathless 'bush' on the banks of the Fish River, the boundary line was moved forward to the Keiskamma, with the establishment of two new military posts. The colony grew in numbers, the estimate for 1822 being nearly 120,000, of whom about 46,000 were free citizens, nearly all Dutch and British. The first lighthouse was built on the coast; new roads were opened; the breed of cattle, especially of horses, was much improved through the importation of well-bred stock; the famous and valuable 'South African Public Library' was founded in 1818, and, two years later, the Board of Admiralty established the Royal Observatory. The Dutch population, or five-sixths of the freemen, were greatly irritated by the sole employment of the English language in 'ordinances' and proclamations issued by the Governor, and in all proceedings of courts of law. At the same time, in 1828, a great judicial reform came in the establishment of a Supreme Court, consisting of a Chief Justice and three puisne judges, appointed by the Crown, and independent of the executive government, and in the substitution of civil commissioners and resident magistrates for the old Dutch *landdrosts* and *heemraden*. Wool, hides and skins became chief articles of export, and the colony was making slow and steady progress when the year 1834 brought the beginning of twenty years of conflict with the Kaffirs. Before entering on this narrative, we may note the progress of personal and constitutional freedom. In 1828, under the governorship of Sir Lowry Cole, 'Hottentots and all other free coloured persons lawfully residing within the colony' were granted 'all and every right, benefit and privilege enjoyed by other British subjects.' The effect of this relief from the laws requiring Hottentots to obtain passes from magistrates before changing their places of abode was to make a large number of them into wanderers and 'loafers' who would not keep at steady work for the farmers. As regards slaves, the importation of Malays and others had ceased with the

abolition of the slave trade in the British dominions in 1807. Good treatment allowed the slave population of Cape Colony to increase, and the number had risen from under 30,000 in 1808 to nearly 40,000 in 1834. Under the Act of 1833, abolishing slavery throughout the British colonies, the Cape slave owners received one and a quarter millions sterling as compensation, as against the estimate of three millions made by commissioners appointed to decide on the real value of the slaves. The inadequate sum awarded was, moreover, payable only in London on proof of ownership, and was to be diminished by all expenses incurred in carrying out the work of emancipation. The slave owners, who had been for many years irritated by the effect of laws passed to reduce their power over their usually well-treated bondmen, were naturally incensed by a measure of confiscation which reduced many widows and aged persons to absolute penury, and impoverished hundreds of the best families. This gross injustice had its share in causing the great Boer emigration. The farmers in wheat and wine were for many years cramped for lack of labour, though this fact had a beneficial effect in promoting the industry of breeding merino sheep for wool. The freed men were the better neither in body nor mind, and lived a nearly idle life in the villages and towns, pampered by the philanthropic and missionary agencies, devoid of ambition, sense of responsibility and care, happy with the happiness of animals basking in the sun. The colonists, for their parts, received in the same year, 1834, a slight share in the work of government through a new Legislative Council of ten members, five *ex officio*, and five chosen by the Governor from the chief citizens. Sir Benjamin D'Urban, a man of admirable sagacity and firmness, was the new Governor who inaugurated the above change of affairs, arriving early in 1834, with further instructions to form treaties of friendship with the native chiefs beyond the colonial frontier. It was his lot to have other work to

do, work for which he was well fitted as a military officer of Peninsular service, and an official of civil experience in his rule of British Guiana, a territory where, as at the Cape, he had to deal with a Dutch population representing former possessors of the country.

The Kosa Kaffirs, in numbers of armed warriors variously estimated at 12,000 to 20,000, crossed the frontier in a sudden and well-planned invasion on the evening of Sunday, December 21st 1834. The territory from Somerset East to Algoa Bay was laid waste with the slaughter of many whites, the burning of the houses and the sweeping off of the cattle, horses and all kinds of movable property. About 7000 colonists were ruined in the loss, as officially proved, of over 5000 horses, 100,000 cattle and 160,000 sheep. Grahamstown, Bathurst and other towns were crowded with fugitives, and a beautiful and fertile province became a desert. Colonel Smith, a Peninsular veteran who was afterwards Sir Harry Smith, the victor of Aliwal in the first Sikh War in India, hastened from Cape Town to take command of the troops, and was speedily followed by D'Urban, the Governor. A general muster of 'Burghers' was made, and these forces were united to 400 infantry and 200 mounted Hottentots under Colonel Somerset at Grahamstown, with four companies of foot and a troop of horse brought by Smith in an almost incessant march of six days and nights. The Governor took with him a very welcome aid in the 72nd Highlanders (now the famous 'Seaforths'), who had just reached the Cape on their voyage to India. By the middle of February 1835 the invaders were driven beyond the Keiskamma, and two months later an inroad was made into their territory. The strength of the invaders could not be resisted. Camps were formed by the British commander in positions whence the 'bush' could be scoured in all directions. Hintsa, the paramount chief of the Kosas, made his submission, and, attempting to escape when he was acting as

guide to the place where a large number of the stolen cattle were kept, he was shot dead by a colonist who pursued him. His son and successor, Kreli, already in the Governor's hands as a hostage, was allowed to make peace by the surrender of 50,000 cattle and 1000 horses as an instalment of compensation for the colonists. One pleasing result of this victorious expedition was the deliverance, by British arms, of a whole enslaved people. These were the Fingos, or 'wanderers,' the wretched remnant of various tribes from the north, shattered by the Zulu power, and living in serfdom among the Kosa Kaffirs. They had welcomed and aided the British invaders, and now had their reward in passing, to the number of 4000 men, 6600 women and 11,700 children, from the grasp of their former cruel masters to a state of freedom as British subjects. They were provided, at the cost of the Kosas, with many thousands of cattle to stock their new lands, and the troops and armed settlers of Cape Colony saw them march along, the women bearing baskets of corn, sleeping-mats, cooking-pots and milking-buckets, with a child or two on many a back. Wild songs of rejoicing came from the full hearts of a rescued nation who cried, 'We go to the place of the good people.' The Fingos, thus released on May 7th 1835, became loyal and useful inhabitants of the colony.

Sir Benjamin D'Urban, seeking to hinder future attempts at invasion from the north-east, wisely extended the boundary of the colony to the Kei River, and created a new province called 'Queen Adelaide,' with a chain of military posts for the defence of the frontier. This salutary action was unhappily reversed by a Whig Minister in London, Lord Glenelg, a man opposed to colonial extension; an ardent philanthropist ready to believe that 'natives' were oppressed by his fellow-Britons; a man who had been 'got at' by a small humanitarian party at Cape Town. In defiance of the strongly-expressed views

of the chief colonists, including the Wesleyan missionaries of Albany district and Kaffirland, Lord Glenelg reversed the Governor's decision, brought the frontier back to the Fish River, and recalled Sir Benjamin D'Urban. The Dutch farmers—the Boers—soon made up their minds to another 'trekking,' on a large scale, from a country subject to imbecile mismanagement; the British colonists were indignant and amazed; the Kaffirs placed the change of frontier to the account of weakness or fear. Again in possession of their strongholds in the Amatola Hills, they recommenced their raids on a smaller scale, and the colonists in the north-east had to exist for ten years in a state of petty warfare with their Kaffir neighbours.

Sir George Napier was the next Governor, and in his time, with his wise and liberal assistance, a great educational advance was made. The state of elementary instruction was so backward that, in 1839, when the new system began to work, there were only 500 European children in the free Government schools throughout the colony. The suggestions and efforts of Sir John Herschel were of great service. That eminent astronomer resided at the Cape from January 1834 to May 1838, engaged in a series of most valuable telescopic surveys of the heavens, conducted entirely at his own expense. He drew up an excellent scheme of national instruction and public schools, and on his return to England he devoted much time to the selection and dispatch of suitable teachers. Each district had its school commission, including the resident minister of religion and justices of the peace, with pecuniary aid to well-managed schools and to the mission schools for coloured children. The good work had its effect shown in the census of 1875, proving that 62 per cent. of Europeans, and 16 per cent. of the mixed races, were able to read and write. In commercial matters we note that in 1846 the colony was annually exporting three and a quarter million pounds' weight of wool. The public debt was paid off

by 1847; municipal government was introduced into the towns and larger villages, and good waggon roads were made through many mountain passes. At the same time an excellent class of immigrants, on an aided system, was introduced in from four to five thousand English, Scottish and Irish agriculturists, men who soon became thriving farmers, and partly supplied the loss due to the 'trekking' of the Boers to the north.

The 'War of the Axe,' long planned by the Kaffir chief Sandili, was caused by the rescue of a Kaffir who, having stolen an axe at Fort Beaufort in 1846, was on his way to Grahamstown for trial. Sandili refused to surrender the criminal, and war ensued. The contest opened with a disaster, in a difficult jungly district, to a British column of 1,500 men, including some companies of the 91st Foot, the 7th Dragoons and the Cape Mounted Rifles. A great host of Kaffirs made a sudden attack, and a forced retreat was attended with considerable loss in men and horses, and the capture of above fifty waggons laden with tents, baggage, ammunition and food. The Kosa warriors then poured across the frontier, making their way close to Grahamstown, with the burning of houses, the slaughter of scattered persons and the capture of cattle. The towns and villages of the eastern districts were crowded with helpless, ruined fugitives. Another waggon train of food and ammunition was taken, with the driving off of its military guard. The enemy were repulsed in their attacks on all the fortified posts, and the Dragoons, with some mounted Hottentots, slew some hundreds of Kaffirs whom they caught on open ground, with the loss of one soldier killed and three wounded. This affair somewhat impressed the native mind, but the position was very serious, and a strenuous effort was needed. The whole Burgher force of the colony was called out, and every soldier that could be spared from Cape Town was hurried to the front. Waggons and oxen were in all quarters impressed for service, but great difficulty

arose with the transport of food and ammunition, from lack of proper organisation, and for some time no effective invasion of Kaffir territory could be made. Several fresh regiments, in due course, arrived from England. A better method of transport was devised, and then the enemy's strongholds in the Amatola Mountains were attacked by columns advancing from the south, the east and the west. The converging action of these forces was too much for the Kaffirs, and by the close of 1847 the two chieftains, Sandili and Macomo, had come into the British lines and surrendered. Sir George Napier had been succeeded as Governor by Sir Peregrine Maitland, and he by Sir Henry Pottinger, the first ruler at the Cape who, like all his successors, bore the title of 'High Commissioner,' and was armed with powers to deal with affairs beyond the colonial border, in territory which would now be styled a 'sphere of influence.' The war was virtually closed when yet another new Governor arrived in Sir Harry Smith, in honour of whose victory over the Sikhs, won in January 1846, the town and district of Aliwal North in Cape Colony were named.

The able and energetic soldier who landed at Cape Town on December 1st 1847 was the right man in the right place. Rough and ready in speech and action, kind-hearted, arbitrary, prompt, fearless of consequences, he was a man fit to rule men, and no mere official. He was most warmly welcomed by the colonists, who remembered his good work in the days of Sir Benjamin D'Urban, as an old and tried friend. He soon showed, in a way strikingly original for a British Governor at the Cape, by an act which would have horrified a man like Lord Glenelg and have caused his immediate recall, the right method of treating beaten chiefs whose followers had been murdering and plundering British subjects. The Governor made Macomo, on his surrender, kneel down, and then he placed his foot, booted and spurred, on his bended neck. Turning to Sandili, he said, 'I am the chief of Kaffirland, the representative of the

Queen of England. From her you hold all your lands, and my word shall be your law, or else I will sweep you from the face of the earth.' A new era for the colony had opened when the ruler, in dealing with Kaffir potentates, did not waste time in making 'treaties' sure to be broken, but asserted, with almost brutal frankness, the overwhelming power of his country. The colonial authorities in London had by this time begun to believe that people at the Cape, governors and governed, might possibly hold sounder views than those of Downing Street. Lord John Russell, now in power as Premier, had shown, in his dealings with Canada at the beginning of the reign, a good judgment in colonial affairs. A reversion was now made to the policy of Sir Benjamin D'Urban, a policy which the three last Governors—Pottinger, Maitland and Napier—had been brought to approve. The boundary of Cape Colony was extended to the Keiskamma River. The territory between the Keiskamma and the Kei rivers was made 'British Kaffraria,' vested in the Queen as sovereign, but held from her by the Kosa Kaffirs, for their sole use, under the control of a commissioner, with the chiefs as rulers of their people in many matters, but with the suppression of vicious customs, including the cruel punishments for alleged 'witchcraft.' Forts, garrisoned by British troops, were erected at different points. King Williamstown, on the Buffalo River, about 40 miles from the sea, was the military headquarters, and the flourishing seaport, East London, at the river mouth, was made a part of Cape Colony for purposes of trade and revenue.

In 1848 the Anglican Church in South Africa received due recognition by the appointment of Dr Gray as Bishop of Cape Town, the See being endowed by the munificence of Miss (afterwards Baroness) Burdett-Coutts. The new prelate, attended by a large staff of clergy, gave a great impulse to educational and missionary work in the growing colony. The attempt made by the Home Government to

introduce British convicts, in spite of the strong opposition of Sir Harry Smith, was frustrated by the determined opposition of the people at Cape Town, and the ship *Neptune*, after detention for five months in Simon's Bay, with 300 convicts on board, who were not permitted to land, received orders from London to convey her unsavoury cargo to Van Diemen's Land (Tasmania). In May 1850 a great step forward was made in the establishment of representative rule by letters-patent from the Crown, empowering the Governor and Legislative Council to cause the election of two Chambers. There were already elected Municipal Councils and Road Boards, to the great advantage of the colonists. The application of the elective principle to the general government of the country was delayed for three years by a new Kaffir war, but we may here anticipate matters by stating that in 1853 the new form of government began to exist, with an elective Legislative Council and House of Assembly, chosen on a franchise granted to occupants of any building or land valued at £25, or in receipt of an annual salary of £25 with board and lodging, or £50 without, and that on July 1st 1854 the first parliament of the colony assembled at Cape Town, the whole population then being about 265,000, of whom 24,000 dwelt in the capital. The public revenue exceeded £300,000; the exports closely approached a million sterling in value.

The Kaffir chiefs and people, in spite of the humble submission made by Macomo and Sandili, had only regarded the peace of 1847 as a truce. The latter chieftain was formally deposed from his position in October 1850, when he was found to be stirring up his tribe, the Gaikas, to disaffection. In the same year there was much suffering in Kaffraria from drought; a native prophet or 'witch-doctor' aroused the people's fanaticism, and the chiefs, in general, chafed at the loss of their former power. It is worth noting that the interference of the British rulers

with the men who went about 'smelling out' witches and wizards was resented by the Kaffirs as a device of the Government for handing them over to those supposed powers of evil. A renewal of conflict was encouraged by a great magician, as he was held to be, who issued charms which would, as he declared, turn into water the bullets fired at the wearers. Sir Harry Smith, on the rumour of an intended outbreak, took all the force he could muster to King Williamstown, and sent a body of troops to arrest Sandili in his lurking-place among the forests at the head-waters of the Keiskamma River. This was in December 1850, and the Kosas, having treacherous information of the movement from Kaffir police in the Government service, attacked the detachment, 700 strong, of British infantry and Cape Mounted Rifles in a defile called the Boomah Pass. Some dozens of the force fell in fighting their way through, amidst a musketry fire from ambush of thickets and rocks. The signal fires of the foe flashed the news through the land, and this affair was followed by the slaughter of a patrol of 15 men, and by the burning of three villages on the colonial side of the border, with the murder of 46 men in cold blood. The whole of the frontier, and the country far beyond, was then stirred up against British power. The Gaikas were all in arms, helped by Kreli, the Galeka chieftain beyond the Kei; north of the Amatola Mountains some of the Tembus joined in the rising; Hottentot settlers on the Kei River, ungrateful for kindly treatment during the past twenty years, revolted: the Fingos alone remained faithful. The colonists, as a body, made no hearty response to the appeal for their active aid, and the Government was left to its own resources. On all hands British troops had to retreat before overwhelming numbers, and Sir Harry Smith himself, beleaguered at Fort Cox, had a narrow escape as he cut his way through a host of foes at the head of about 200 faithful Mounted Rifles. There were less than 2000 British soldiers in the

whole colony, and half of these were shut up in fortified posts. Amidst these difficulties the foe were gradually impressed by the stubborn valour and endurance of men who repelled all attacks on the little forts, and marched hither and thither, by day and night, exposed to a burning sun or to heavy rains. There was much devastation of farms, and some loss of life for the settlers, until the arrival of strong reinforcements from home enabled the Governor, at the close of 1851, to take the offensive. Several of the enemy's strongholds were stormed, part of the Kaffir country was wasted with the destruction of kraals and crops, and in January 1852 two British columns came back to King Williamstown with 60,000 head of cattle and many horses and goats, and escorting some thousands of Fingos rescued from slavery in Kaffirland.

It was early in the following month that the dispatch of reinforcements for the overweighted British troops brought one of the noblest and most affecting occurrences of our modern history. The steam troopship *Birkenhead*, of the Royal Marine, conveying drafts of various regiments to Algoa Bay, including men of the 74th Highlanders, all under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Alexander Seton, struck on a sunken rock near Point Danger, midway between the Cape of Good Hope and Cape Agulhas. It was two o'clock in the morning. The vessel, steaming at about nine knots an hour through a fairly smooth sea, had the iron plates of her lower hull widely rent aft of the fore-mast, and the water drowned many men in their hammocks on the lower deck, while the rest rushed up and mustered in silence, at the word of command, beneath the light of the stars. They were mostly young recruits, but without a murmur or a cry they stood in their ranks on the rocking and loosening upper deck, facing death as coolly as if they were on parade for drill. About 100 men were working hard at the pumps, others were gathered astern to ease the forepart of the ship. The only two serviceable boats took

the women, the children and the sick, on board, in water that was swarming with sharks. Their appetite was partly sated by horses driven out of the port gangway on the chance of their getting ashore by swimming. The whole bow end of the ship broke off at the foremast, and the funnel fell over, crushing about 60 men, and carrying away the starboard paddle-box and boat. As many more died by drowning at the pumps, and the end came in the breaking of the ship in two, crosswise, when the stern part filled and went down. About 70 men reached the land clinging to rigging or drifting furniture, and about 50 more were taken off the wreck in the afternoon by a small craft which had picked up and saved the people in the boats. Nearly 500 lives, including that of Colonel Seton, were lost out of about 700. Some noble lines of Sir Francis Doyle, some words of praise from the Duke of Wellington, a man sparing of eulogy, delivered at the Royal Academy dinner in 1852, in one of his latest public utterances, and a mural tablet and brass plates at Chelsea Hospital, containing the names of the officers and men, 357 in all, who perished, commemorate this grand display of discipline and self-sacrifice.

In the spring of 1852 Sir Harry Smith, whose health had been seriously impaired by incessant toil and care, laid down his governorship, and was succeeded by Sir George Cathcart, a Waterloo veteran, destined soon to fall in the glorious battle of Inkermann. This able commander, having at his disposal eight regiments of the line, a battalion of the Rifle Brigade, the 60th Rifles, the 12th Lancers, with artillerymen, engineers, and a large force of auxiliaries, was able to do his work thoroughly. From every point of vantage the Kaffirs were routed out. Every fastness of the foe was turned into a British stronghold, with a turret surrounded by stone walls that could shelter a large force, the post being held by a small body of men with stores of ammunition and food. The enemy were harassed beyond

measure by a system of constant patrolling, and a permanent force of mounted European police was formed. In March 1853 the principal Kaffir chiefs made their submission, and the forfeited lands of Kaffirs and Hottentot rebels were handed over to Fingos and Europeans. The Amatola Mountains, always the real seat of war, were made a 'Crown Reserve,' in permanent military occupation, and the eastern frontier was at last made secure by the settlement on the land of Dutch and English farmers, men accustomed to the use of arms, and holding their farms on condition of maintaining an organisation for self-defence. The making of new roads, and the annexation to Cape Colony of the country north of the Amatola Mountains, completed the arrangements against future trouble. Conquest of the Kaffirs was followed to a large extent by their initiation in the arts of peace, to their own great benefit. The warriors of the Amatolas began to work for the Government in the making of roads, rendering their country defenceless by laying bare its fastnesses in lines of communication equally serviceable in peace and in war. The assegai was exchanged for the spade, and the people, settled on open fertile lands, ploughed with their own oxen instead of stealing those of their neighbours.

The recall of Sir George Cathcart to command a division of the troops in the Crimean War left the way open for a new Governor in the person of one of the greatest colonial rulers in our history, Sir George Grey, K.C.B., a man to be carefully distinguished from another able administrator, the Sir George Grey, Bart., who was Home Secretary in ministries of Lord John Russell and Lord Palmerston. The eminent colonial ruler, who died but recently at an advanced age, was descended from a branch of the Greys of Groby in Leicestershire, the ancient and noble house whose most famous scion was Lady Jane Grey. Born in 1812 at Lisburn in Ireland, he was a posthumous son of Lieutenant-Colonel Grey, killed at the

fearful storming of Badajoz. Trained for the army at Sandhurst, and leaving the service as captain in 1839, he had already won great credit as an Australian explorer, and in 1841 he became Governor of South Australia. From 1846 to 1853 he was Governor of New Zealand, and there showed consummate ability, tact, firmness, and power of conciliation. On his appointment to the Cape in 1854 he displayed the same qualities. His sense of justice was shown in obtaining redress for certain disbanded Hottentot troops, whose promised pensions were being in great part unjustly withheld by the War Office in London. The money to satisfy their claims was at the Governor's instance voted by the Cape Parliament. At the great 'Grey Hospital,' erected at King Williamstown by the labour of troops disbanded on the close of the war, the sons of Kaffir chiefs were instructed in simple medical science for the treatment of the more common forms of disease among their countrymen, and when they returned among their people their new knowledge made them scorn the impostures of the 'witch-doctors,' and native superstition was thus, as Grey intended, by degrees undermined. In a great work of pacification and civilisation, in which he made use of the agencies of the magistrate, the missionary, the schoolmaster and the trader, the Governor caused the Queen whom he represented to become, for the first time, a living reality for the natives of South Africa. In every beneficent work he put his sovereign forward as the great 'White Queen beyond the Seas,' from whose love and goodness the benefit came. There was statesmanship of the highest order, as well as loyal devotion to a Queen and an Empire, in thus arousing reverence and affection for a person to replace a vague notion of distant intangible authority. His effort in this direction had complete success. The Fingos, in a petition to the Crown, said, 'We are a blessed people under Queen Victoria; we are like children who have a

father in all things to preserve, feed, and help them.' It was to the Queen that, forty years later, Lobengula of Matabeleland sent his envoys. It was to see the Queen that King Khama of Bamangwato, the strongest of the Bechuana rulers, and his brother chiefs, journeyed to London.

The powers of Governor Grey were put to the test by a new Kaffir difficulty involving one of the strangest events in modern history. In 1857 the Kosa Kaffirs became the victims of a delusion which had its rise in the assertion of a madman or impostor named Umhlakaza. He professed to have had interviews, on the bank of a little lonely stream, with the embodied spirits of some long-dead chiefs, including his own brother. They were about to appear, he heard, again on earth, in the midst of the tribes, armed with power to drive the foreigners, Dutch and English, into the sea. A cattle plague had, in 1855 and 1856, killed many thousands of horned animals in Cape Colony and Kaffraria. The warriors returning from the other world would bring with them herds of cattle proof against disease. In order to the fulfilment of these marvellous promises, the fanatical prophet declared that all the animals fit for food—horned cattle, pigs, sheep and fowls—all stores of corn and the standing crops, must be destroyed. Then would the beauteous and plague-proof cattle issue from the earth, with fine fields of millet ripe for food. Sorrow and sickness would be no more, nor old age nor decrepitude be known again. It was, however, imperative that the people should first place themselves in a state of absolute destitution. Those who disobeyed the commands of the spirits would perish along with the Fingos and the whites. This wonderful tale was first accepted by Kreli and the Galekas outside British territory, and then through their influence it spread into British Kaffraria. Sandili and the Gaikas would not at first believe, but large numbers of the Kosas made away with all their means of subsistence, and awaited the fulfil-

ment of the prophecies. It is uncertain to what extent, if any, Kaffir chiefs instigated this disastrous movement, in the hope of uniting the people in a desperate assault on British power. It was in vain that missionaries and agents of the Government, during some months, combated the frenzy. British traders were enriched by the possession of the hides of about 200,000 slaughtered cattle, obtained in barter for articles of trifling value. Sir George Grey, at personal interviews with some of the chiefs, found himself powerless against the prophet's words. The people, fully persuaded that utter poverty must precede the coming supernatural wealth, were starving at the very time when they toiled in preparing huge kraals for the expected cattle, and in making thousands of skin bags to hold the store of miraculous milk. Sandili himself had at last given way to the urgent wishes of his brother Macomo, and the Governor returned to take military measures against a possible invasion of people maddened by famine. The appointed day of great things, Wednesday, February 18th 1857, came and went, and the miserable Kaffirs, who had sat vainly watching all the previous night to see the promised sign of two blood-red suns rising over the eastern hills, beheld the usual one orb appear to bathe the hills and valleys in a flood of light. The horrors that ensued were past description. About 40,000 Kaffirs, it is supposed, perished of famine. The nearest kinsmen fought to death for fragments of the milk bags. The country was covered with skeletons, singly or in groups, and between January 1st 1857 and July 31st of the same year the population of British Kaffraria was reduced from 105,000 to about 38,000. Many thousands of the people had crossed the frontier in search of the means of subsistence, being fed by the Government or by the charity of colonists; some thousands, in the end, working as servants on fixed wages for fixed terms of years. The vacant tracts of land in British Kaffraria were to some extent occupied, at a trifling rent, by farmers

chosen from Cape Colony, on condition of military service, and some good thus arose out of enormous evil in the presence of a strong body of European settlers near to an exposed frontier. In 1858 and 1859 a welcome reinforcement of hardy settlers was received from North Germany. About 2000 in all, including the wives and children, were planted on ground sold at twenty shillings an acre, chiefly in the valley of the Buffalo River. These new colonists—frugal, temperate, diligent, pious—soon arrived at prosperity as cattle owners and market gardeners.

Sir George Grey's strength of character was admirably shown on the outbreak of the Indian Mutiny. In August 1857 a steamer brought to the Cape a despatch reporting that event. The Governor, seeing the extreme danger in the East, at once sent off to Calcutta every British soldier at Cape Town and every horse that could be spared, with two batteries of Royal Artillery and most of his supplies of ammunition. Within three days of his reception of the terrible news a man-of-war and three transports had sailed from the Cape with this valuable reinforcement. A few days later some ships arrived bearing regiments for service in China. Without the least right, the Governor diverted these troops, on his own responsibility, to Calcutta, where they landed the men who enabled Sir Colin Campbell to relieve Havelock at Lucknow. His daring action received the special approbation of the Colonial Secretary and the Queen. In his zeal for the interests of the Empire Sir George went a-foot for some time, having sent his own horses to India as cavalry re-mounts. In this condition of affairs at the Cape, when the colony was almost devoid of regular troops, the Governor turned his thoughts to possible danger from Kreli and his Galekas, and in February 1858 he sent a force against them, chiefly composed of the Mounted Police, and of Burgher and native militia, and drove them from the district called the Transkei—the land beyond the Kei River—into the territory beyond the Bashee.

For some years the Transkei remained a kind of neutral ground, devoid of people except in the north-east, where some loyal Kaffirs dwelt in the 'Idutywa Reserve.' It is needless to state that a Governor like Sir George Grey was regarded at Downing Street as 'a dangerous man.' In 1859 he brought forward in the Cape Parliament the question of South African Federation. In response to a request for his opinion on this subject addressed to him in September 1858 by the Colonial Secretary, Sir Edward Bulwer (the first Lord) Lytton, Sir George had freely pointed out the mistakes of past policy, and urged the establishment of a federal union, in which the separate colonies and states—Cape Colony, British Kaffraria, Natal, the Orange Free State, and the other Boer Republic—each with its own local government and legislature, should be combined under a general representative legislature, with a responsible ministry. His official 'superiors' in England were irritated by his presumption in submitting a positive scheme, when he was only asked for information and for his 'views' on the subject, and when Grey went further, and, without special instructions, broached the matter in the Cape Legislature, he was visited with a sentence of 'recall.' The Queen, a thorough 'Imperialist' in her views, as she has often shown with great advantage to the Empire, expressed her indignation to the Prime Minister (Lord Derby) at the Cabinet's decision. As a constitutional sovereign, she was unable to disallow the action of her Ministers, but the 'recall' of Grey did not take effect. At this juncture, in June 1859, the Derby Cabinet, defeated in the Commons, made room for a Ministry headed by Lord Palmerston. The new Colonial Secretary, the Duke of Newcastle, at the urgent instance of the Queen, cancelled the 'recall,' changing it into 'absence on leave,' and Sir George Grey, after a brief visit to England, received a warm welcome at the Cape on his return as Governor early in 1860. During his brief remaining tenure of power,

before his transfer to New Zealand for a second term of office, in 1861, Sir George Grey received Prince Alfred (afterwards Duke of Edinburgh and of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha) then a midshipman on board H.M.S. *Euryalus*, and conducted him on a 'progress' through Cape Colony, Kaffraria, the Orange Free State and Natal. By this time the railway from Cape Town to Wellington, 50 miles north-east, was well advanced. In September the Prince laid the first stone of the great breakwater in Table Bay, and inaugurated the splendid new Library and Museum, an institution already furnished with nearly 40,000 volumes, and enriched by Sir George in 1864 by the presentation of all his literary treasures, one of the finest of private collections, including publications and MSS. on the languages and ethnology of Africa and Polynesia, large numbers of early black-letter printed books, the only complete copy of the First Folio of Shakespeare then existing out of Europe, and many other literary gems, whereby the South African Library became third in point of size, and first in value and importance, among all colonial collections of its class. In 1861 Grey sailed for New Zealand, leaving Cape Colony, after nearly eight years of his rule, nobly and durably marked by his action. The British Ministers, however, would have none of his 'Federation'; the opportunity was lost, and federation is still wanting to the South African dominions of the Crown.

The governorship of Sir Philip Wodehouse, from 1861 to 1870, was marked by the incorporation of British Kaffraria, and by the great discovery of diamonds in Griqualand West. The former event took place in 1865, with the formation of two electoral divisions—King Williamstown and East London. At the same time the growth of population caused an increase in the number of constituencies represented in the Legislative Assembly, and the enlargement of the Legislative Council. In 1867 a child on a farm in the north of the colony was found possessed of a

'brilliant pebble,' which proved to be a diamond of 21 carats, worth £500. Another gem was picked up on the bank of the Vaal River. Several were found in 1868, and in March 1869 a Dutch farmer bought, for £400, the famous stone called 'The Star of South Africa' from a Hottentot, who valued it only as a charm. It weighed 83 carats uncut, and was soon re-sold for £11,000. A 'rush' for the Vaal banks was made by adventurous people, and the alluvial 'drift' was washed with good results. In 1870 a large find of diamonds was made in 'dry diggings' about 20 miles south of the Vaal, and there were soon 10,000 miners at work. The town of Kimberley became a great and flourishing place, and a new era for South Africa began with the advent of the digger, the capitalist and the company promoter, and the extension of the border beyond the Orange River. In 1871, under Sir Henry Barkly as Governor and High Commissioner, Griqualand West was annexed, after a strong protest made by the government of the Orange Free State, whose claims were finally compromised in 1876 by payment of the sum of £90,000. The tide of public opinion in South Africa had by this time clearly set in favour of northward progress, and the general advance of the colony is shown by the official figures of 1875. In that year the population was returned at 721,000, of whom 237,000 were whites. Capetown contained 32,000 people, with 12,000 in the suburbs; Port Graham had 13,000 residents, and Grahamstown 7000. The revenue exceeded £1,600,000, and the exports had a value of more than four millions sterling, including wool worth above two and three-quarter millions, angora hair and ostrich feathers. The changed conditions were recognised in 1872 by the establishment of 'responsible government,' the members of the 'Executive Council' or Ministry henceforth having seats in one of the Houses of the Legislature.

Before leaving this part of our subject, we may note the conclusion of warfare with the Kaffirs south of the Orange

River. In 1865 the Galekas were permitted to return into a part of the Transkei, nearest the sea, a district known for some years as Galekaland ; and on the inner border a colony of many thousand Fingos was planted as a protection for Cape Colony proper. Warfare between the Galekas and the Fingos arose, and Kreli, in 1877, bestirred himself to a final effort for the independence of his Kosas, whose hereditary head chieftain he had formerly been. In October a new High Commissioner, Sir Bartle Frere, to be seen hereafter in this record, decreed his deposition and annexed his territory, and there was fighting for some months between the Galekas and the colonial levies aided by some British troops. There could be only one end to the struggle, though Sandili roused the Gaikas to action in a last despairing rally for the Kosa clan. By June 1878 Sandili had been shot, Kreli had fled to distant wilds, and the Kosa Kaffirs, once so formidable to Dutch and British settlers, vanished from the page of history.

CHAPTER III

THE ZULU KAFFIRS—THE GREAT 'TREKKING' OF THE BOERS—THE RISE OF NATAL

THE Zulus loom large in the history of South Africa. Regarded simply as warriors, they enjoy the distinction of having inflicted on British soldiers one of their few defeats, and of compelling modern troops of the highest courage and training, and armed with the breechloader, to receive their terrific charges, made on foot, and with the spear as their only weapon, in the square formation which, in civilised warfare, has been reserved to meet the assaults of cavalry. Their athletic strength and their valour, only to be tamed by sustained volleys of deadly rifle fire, were never equalled in the experience of British troops against savage foes until the 'Dervishes' of the Sudan displayed their prowess. They are a tribe of the great Bantu family, occupying all central Africa from the Atlantic to the Indian Ocean. The Bantus are of mixed race, descended from ancestors of diverse types, and are broadly distinguished from the Negritos and Hottentots to the south, and the Sudan blacks to the north. It was only at the end of the eighteenth century that the Zulus, previously a small and feeble tribe, rose to importance under a successful warrior named Tshaka (Chaka), a man of great bodily strength and vigorous intellect, ruthless in his treatment of all opponents. He created a strong, well,

disciplined force, and gathered around him clans and fragments of clans until he had formed a Zulu nation of regiments armed with a short-handled, long-bladed spear, useful either to cut or to stab, instead of the former light lance or assegai. The discipline was of the sternest character, with death as the sure penalty of disobedience or of shrinking on the day of battle. With this formidable force at command, Chaka set himself to a warfare of conquest and extermination of neighbouring tribes; and for the first thirty years of the nineteenth century the region north-east and north of Cape Colony was a scene of massacre and devastation, as the Zulus dealt with tribes whose survivors, in their turn, fell upon their neighbours. In 1828, after a long career of bloodshed, Chaka was assassinated by two of his brothers, and one of these, Dingaan, became head of the Zulus. He was quite as cruel, but not so able as his predecessor. He maintained the military system, waging constant war with his neighbours, the Swazis, who resisted him with success in the fastnesses of their hills and jungle. The Zulu nation was remarkable in its democratic polity, with election of chiefs holding power subject to popular approval; a regular unwritten code, well understood by all, of civil and criminal law; in morality shown by freedom from drunkenness and crime, and by the utter absence of revengeful feelings when fighting had decided a quarrel. We proceed to narrate their first serious collision with men of European race, an event occurring in consequence of the famous and momentous Boer migration from Cape Colony.

Some of the grievances of the Dutch farmers in Cape Colony have been already mentioned. They were dissatisfied with British rule, because it was foreign rule; they resented the insult, as they deemed it, of their language being scouted in the proceedings of public offices and the law courts; the sudden emancipation of their slaves with insufficient compensation; the political equality granted

to the coloured people. They were further disgusted at what they held to be the slanderous imputations of missionaries and the London philanthropists concerning their treatment of the Hottentots. They had before them to the north a vast extent of territory swarming with game and supplying water and pasture for those who sought them. They came of a stock many of whom, even under Dutch rule, had been accustomed to 'trekking' and leading the life of roving graziers within the nominal limits of Cape Colony. They looked, in a new land, not merely for independence as separate communities under republican rule, but for safety for life and property in removal from the Kosas who, in the 'forties' of the nineteenth century, harassed the eastern frontier. In this last expectation—that of freedom from Kaffirs — they found themselves rudely undeceived; but they were sturdy folk, well capable of self-defence, and in the end they attained their object. The great migration, which was spread over a number of years, began in 1836 from the eastern and northern districts of Cape Colony. Great waggons, loaded with household goods and with stores of food and of ammunition, were driven forth by parties of families well acquainted with each other, all under charge of a chosen 'commandant.' Each caravan had its horned cattle, horses, sheep and goats, and in places of good pasture a halt of some weeks was often made. Through the steep passes leading to the plateau of the Orange River and its affluents they made their toilsome way, leaving British territory and jurisdiction when they had crossed the Orange. There were troubles by the way from bands of natives, the tsetse fly, and fever in the Delagoa Bay district, but there was no serious conflict with any human foe until a large party, conducted by the able and energetic Hendrik Potgieter, came across the Matabele, a branch of the Bantu race, between the Vet and the Vaal rivers, on territory now forming the northern

district of the Orange Free State. One part of the emigrants was murdered by a band of Matabele warriors, and Potgieter then formed a strong 'laager' on a hill, composed of fifty waggons lashed together in a circle, with the open spaces crammed with thorn bushes. The enemy, flushed with success, and reinforced, were soon upon the Boers, but the steady fire of forty men, to whom the women handed spare guns ready loaded, piled the ground outside with scores of dead, and the foe withdrew, driving off the cattle and leaving the 'trekkers' in sore straits for food. The party were joined by another band, and then Potgieter and Maritz, the commandant of the new-comers, took the bold course of attacking the Matabele leader's kraal or village. The chief was absent, and also the *induna* who commanded the warriors. Thus favoured by circumstances, and surprising the place at break of day, the Boers won a complete victory, routing the Matabele with the loss of some hundreds of slain men, and returning with some thousands of captured cattle, after burning the enemy's huts. Potgieter's party then formed a camp on the Vet River, at a place where a town afterwards rose, named Winburg in honour of the success gained. In June 1837, on the arrival of another party of emigrants under a man of great ability, of Huguenot blood, named Pieter Retief, the leader of the new-comers was chosen commandant-general, and a 'constitution' was arranged, with a *Volksraad* or elective chamber, and a court of *landdrost* (magistrates and revenue collectors), and *heemraden* (assessors in minor courts of justice), all under Dutch law. During Retief's absence beyond the Drakensberg in search of new territory in the Zulu country now called Natal, a second attack was made by a few score of Boers on the Matabele leader heading 12,000 splendid warriors. The advantage of guns and horses for the assailants was such that, in spite of odds that were ludicrous in point of

numbers, the Matabele, in a nine days' desultory conflict, were thoroughly beaten, and took to flight northwards to harry the Mashona tribes. The victorious party returned to Winburg with some thousands of captured cattle. We leave aside for the present the further fortunes of the people at Winburg with the simple statement that the territory seized, in proclamation, by Potgieter, became afterwards that of the South African Republic and a large part of the Orange Free State, countries whose rise and history will be dealt with later. We have now to trace the origin of the flourishing British colony known as Natal.

Natal was first seen by Europeans when, on Christmas Day, 1497, Vasco da Gama sighted the land to which he gave its abiding name from *Dies Natalis*, the style of the anniversary in the Latin calendar. Nearly two centuries passed away before any record of the territory being visited by people from the British Isles. In 1683 a ship carrying 80 persons, passengers and crew, was wrecked near Delagoa Bay, the survivors journeying overland to the Dutch settlements at the Cape. The first attempt at European settlement was made in 1824, when two ex-officers of the royal navy, named King and Farewell, with other adventurers, sought and obtained a grant of land, on the coast and for 100 miles inland, from the Zulu King, Chaka, then in possession. One of the party, named Fynn, afterwards had another grant to the south. The country had been devastated by Zulu warfare, but natives of various beaten tribes gradually came together round the whites, who were recognised as rulers under Chaka as paramount chief. That truculent king's assassination in 1828, and the succession of Dingaan, brought trouble to the Europeans. Farewell was killed, and the other whites had to flee for their lives, but they ventured to return, and for some years Fynn was head of the Natal Kaffirs, under Dingaan, who drew off his people from the coast territory.

In 1835 some American missionaries arrived, and these, along with a few Boers who had migrated from Cape Colony in the previous year, formed the nucleus of a colony, styling their territory 'Victoria,' in 1837, and laying out a town, called Durban from the popular Governor at the Cape.

The great Boer migration gave a solid basis, after many troubles, to the colony of Natal. We have seen that Pieter Retief, in 1837, crossed the Drakensberg Mountains, bounding the territory like a great wall on the west, in order to view the pleasant land stretching down in terraces, with many streams, a rich soil, stately forests, and grassy valleys, to the sub-tropical shores of the Indian Ocean. The Boer leader was well pleased by what he saw, and having been warmly welcomed by the settlers at Durban, and civilly received by Dingaan at his capital of concentric circles of huts, used as barracks for his warriors, he received a grant of the whole country on condition of recovering for the king a herd of some hundreds of cattle recently stolen from a Zulu outpost. Retief recrossed the mountains to fetch his party from Winburg, recovered the cattle without bloodshed, and then set out with a caravan of nearly a thousand waggons for Natal. He went forward himself with 65 Europeans and a score or two of Hottentot servants, driving the cattle to Dingaan's capital, and there the bloodthirsty, treacherous king had them all brained with clubs as they partook of some refreshment of millet beer. Not a man survived the massacre, and in a few hours 10,000 Zulu warriors were on the march to assail the nearest Boer camp. At a spot fitly called Weenen ('the place of weeping') in after days, about 300 men, women and children, surprised in early morning, were murdered with every circumstance of ferocity, and nearly as many coloured servants perished. Other Boer parties were happily saved through the escape of one young man from the massacre. His warning, as he

dashed through the country from camp to camp on an unsaddled horse, enabled the Boers to make a waggon-laager, and the desperate assaults of the Zulus, eager for more victims, were all repulsed with great slaughter. The British settlers at Port Natal joined the Boers against the foe, but there were divisions among both parties which somewhat foiled the effort for vengeance. Potgieter and another Boer leader, Pieter Uys, hurried from Winburg and from the Drakensberg Mountains with every fighting man that could be mustered, and many Zulus from the Port Natal district—men who had deserted from Dingaan's army—joined the force. Potgieter and Uys, riding towards the Zulu king's capital with about 350 mounted men, fell into an ambuscade, where they were surrounded by an immense force, and breaking through to the rear after delivering a concentrated fire that slew many hundreds of the Zulus, they left behind them, among a dozen slain, Commandant Uys and his son, with all the led horses, baggage and reserve ammunition. A few days later a party of about a score Englishmen, leading 1500 black fighters, of whom nearly 400 had muskets, came upon a Zulu regiment south of the Tugela River, and a pretended flight of these men drew on the pursuers beyond the river, into the midst of a Zulu force of at least 7000 men. The smaller party had possession of a kraal, and there, on April 17th 1838, a desperate battle took place. The Natal army, after thrice repulsing furious charges of the Zulu *impis* (regiments), was cut in two on the arrival of reinforcements for the foe. One division of the beaten men made a dash for the Tugela, losing many men in the water from Zulu spears, but 4 British and some hundreds of blacks escaped. The other division was hemmed in by thousands of foes. Formed in a circle, they piled the ground with dead by a ceaseless fire, but were overwhelmed at last by incessant rushes of fresh men. In this terrible contest 13 British were killed and about

1000 blacks from Port Natal. The conquerors lost nearly 3000 men.

This disaster was followed by jealousies among the Boer leaders, causing Potgieter and his party to separate from the rest and found the little town of Potchefstroom. The others held their ground, suffering from disease and scarcity of food, but repelling in a fortified camp (*laager*) all attacks of Dingaan's warriors. A change came with the arrival of a very able Boer commandant, Andries Pretorius, who received the chief command, and soon started for Dingaan's capital, on a mission of vengeance, at the head of over 450 men. The force took waggons enough to form a laager, and surprise was avoided by the formation of these, lashed together in a circle, at every place of halt for the night. Scouts on every side during the march gave safety to the column against ambuscades, and the band of Dutch 'Ironsides,' men of prayer and singers of psalms, vowed a church and an annual day of thanksgiving if victory over the foe were granted. A church at Pietermaritzburg and 'Dingaan's day' remain in proof at once of their success and of their fidelity to their word. On Sunday, December 16th 1838, Dingaan, with over 10,000 warriors, attacked the camp in early morning. All was ready for his reception, the deadly fire of the Boers' muskets being aided by some small cannon. The Zulu warriors, after a series of vain charges, in a battle continued for over two hours, retreated, leaving on the ground over 3000 dead, by a stream ever since styled the Blood River. When the defeated king's capital was reached it was found in flames, and he had fled into wilds where horsemen could not act. The victors returned to Natal with some thousands of cattle. The whole loss of the whites in this memorable campaign was 6 men killed and 3 wounded. The strength of the Zulus may be gathered from the fact that Dingaan, after the loss of nearly 10,000 warriors, could return to rebuild his capital, and await an oppor-

tunity of revenge on his foes. The Boers, on their side, kept together, and laid out the town of Pietermaritzburg, tilling the ground close at hand as gardens, and keeping the cattle within fences. In September 1839 Panda, a younger brother of Dingaan, rose against him, with help from the Boers, and a determined struggle ended in that cruel potentate's utter defeat, an event soon followed by his assassination. Panda became king of the Zulus, and the aid of Pretorius, at the head of 400 mounted Boers, was rewarded by the gift of about 40,000 cattle. Thus was founded a republic of Natal, with the Zulu ruler as a vassal to the *Volksraad* or Parliament. The valour of the Boers had thus, between 1836 and 1840, broken for the time the strength of the Zulus, and placed the 'trekkers' in the independent possession of a great territory beyond the borders of Cape Colony, north of the Orange River, and, in Natal, east of the Drakensberg Mountains. They had now to reckon with opponents in another quarter.

The British Government at the Cape had regarded the emigration of the Boers with disfavour and dismay. A large number of their subjects had seceded to found an independent state or states in the neighbourhood of the colony, and there carry out a policy towards the natives of South Africa widely diverse from that recognised and permitted within the colony. It was felt that they must not be allowed, at any rate, to be masters on the seaboard, and coercive measures were adopted. In July 1838 Sir George Napier, D'Urban's successor in rule, sent a small force to Durban, and these men, advancing to attack Pretorius, were caught in an ambuscade and roughly handled, with the loss of two field guns. The camp at Durban was then besieged by the Boers, but all attacks were repulsed, and the arrival of reinforcements, including a frigate, compelled the men under Pretorius to disperse. Thus, in July 1842, Natal came into British possession. Most of the Boers moved away across the Drakensberg Mountains, and the terri-

tory was largely occupied by Bantus who had fled from Zululand. Panda became again an independent sovereign, and some territory in the south of Natal was given to a Pondo chief. After a period of anarchy, due to the collapse of the Boer rule, the territory, with the Buffalo and Tugela rivers as its northern boundary, was annexed as a new British colony in May 1843, attached to Cape Colony in the following year, and finally made a separate colonial state in November 1856, with a Legislative Council of sixteen members, four of whom were appointed by the Crown, and twelve elected as representatives of towns and districts. Slow and steady progress was made in the arrival of British colonists from the mother country, and in 1852 the population exceeded 120,000, of whom nearly 8000 were of European descent, and the rest Kaffirs. Between one-third and one-half of the whites were Boers, the remainder being chiefly immigrants from the British Isles or from the Cape, with a small proportion of Germans. The export of wool was growing large, and in 1852 sugar canes were planted in the sub-tropical coastlands, a culture which introduced a considerable number of East Indian coolies. For the large Kaffir population reserves of land were made, amounting in all to about one and a quarter million acres, where the people dwelt under their own tribal system and native law. In 1853 Dr Colenso, a man justly famous for his chivalrous and truly Christian support of native claims, became the first Bishop of Natal. This work has no concern with theological questions or disputes, and we pass on to note the establishment, in 1854, of municipal corporations at Durban and Pietermaritzburg. There was a small rebellion, or rather disturbance, in 1873, when Langalibalele, a chief of great influence at the head of a Kaffir clan on one of the reserves, failed to come to Pietermaritzburg on a summons to answer for a breach of law committed by some of his young men, who had brought guns—forbidden articles

except under strict registration—into the colony after a period of work in the diamond fields. He fled into Basutoland on pursuit, and his followers slew two or three of the pursuing force. The chief was arrested among the Basutos, tried at Pietermaritzburg by a special court, and sentenced to life exile on Robben Island, near Cape Town. His clan was, with some loss of life, broken up, and the denunciations uttered by Bishop Colenso and the Aborigines Protection Society aroused so much sympathy in London that the Governor, Sir Benjamin Pine, was recalled, compensation was made to the Kaffir clan, and Langalibalele was removed from his prison to a farm on the mainland, where he lived in comfort, surrounded by his wives, as a 'prisoner of State.' After twelve years of exile he was allowed to return to Natal, where he soon afterwards died. The result of this petty trouble was that in 1875, after a visit of inquiry by Sir Garnet Wolseley as special commissioner, the power of the Kaffir chiefs was limited, and the people on the reserves made subject to ordinary criminal law, with a native high court for civil cases. Since that time the Kaffirs of Natal have lived in peace with their white fellow-subjects, and have made decided progress in civilisation.

CHAPTER IV

GREAT BRITAIN IN WEST AFRICA—1801-1898. GAMBIA, LAGOS, SIERRA LEONE, GOLD COAST. ASHANTI WARS.

THE River Gambia was discovered by the early Portuguese navigators, but it was not until the close of the sixteenth century that any attempt at settlement was made. A 'British Africa Company' was formed in 1588, the year of the Armada, with a charter from Queen Elizabeth permitting trade with the natives on the Gambia, but it does not appear that any permanent settlement took place. In 1618 James I. chartered another Company, whose pioneers made an ambitious effort to arrive at Timbuktu, which was then regarded as a kind of *El Dorado*. The expedition up the Gambia failed either from outbreaks of disease or conflicts with the natives. No gold was obtained, and little, if any, trade could be done. In 1662 another Company, chartered by Charles II., erected a fort at St Mary's Island, at the mouth of the river, with a view of checking Dutch attacks on the British traders in that region. During the war which began in 1665, several Dutch posts were captured, but the Company did not prosper, and in 1672 its rights and properties were transferred to a new 'Royal African Company,' whose charter, absurdly enough, conferred a monopoly of trade for a thousand years from the coast of Barbary to the Cape of Good Hope. During the war with France in the days of William III., the Gambia posts were captured by the

French, but soon restored under the Treaty of Ryswick. We learn from contemporary pamphlets assailing the Company's monopoly that the chief trade of the time was in camwood (a red timber for dyeing), hides, gold, ivory, beeswax, honey, gums, ostrich feathers, ambergris, and, specially, in negroes, exported as slaves to the 'plantations' of the American continent and the West Indies. The colony received little attention from the home country, and a free hand in that part of West Africa was left to France, though the Treaty of Versailles in 1783 reserved certain rights of trade on the Gambia coast to Great Britain. The abolition of the slave trade in 1807 almost caused the abandonment of the Gambia, a fact which proves the commercial importance of that wicked traffic in comparison with the Company's dealings in the other native products. There is little to record in regard to this part of the British colonial empire. The Company ceased to exist early in the present century, and the settlement, with an area of about 70 square miles, including St Mary's Island at the river mouth, some territory on the adjacent mainland, and MacCarthy's Island, about 180 miles up the Gambia, was attached in 1807 to Sierra Leone; then it became independent, was again attached to what were called the 'West Africa Settlements,' and finally became a distinct 'Crown colony' in 1888, under an 'Administrator,' with a 'protectorate' having an area of 2700 square miles. The total population is estimated at 50,000, of whom 15,000—including a few score whites, over 5000 Mohammedans, and 2400 Christians (Protestants and Roman Catholics)—dwell in Gambia proper. The capital, Bathurst, on St Mary's Island, has 6000 inhabitants; the chief trade is in ground nuts, hides, beeswax, rice, cotton, maize and indiarubber. The ground nut—otherwise ground bean, pea nut and earth nut—is the fruit of a leguminous annual, growing its pod in the air, and then, by a natural motion of the

stalk, forcing it for some inches into the earth, where it ripens, producing seeds or beans, which supply, under pressure, a very sweet oil of peculiar properties, improving with age, and never becoming rancid. The nuts, chiefly exported to France, have an annual value of nearly £60,000.

Lagos had formerly an evil reputation as a chief *entrepôt* of slaves for exportation across the Atlantic, and British forces, in 1851, expelled the native ruler, compelling his successor, under treaty, to undertake the suppression of the traffic. Violation of promises caused the annexation of the territory in 1861, the negro kinglet being pensioned off. After being, in turns, a separate colony (1863), a dependency of Sierra Leone (1866), and attached to the Gold Coast Colony (1874), Lagos became finally, in 1886, a distinct 'Crown Colony.' The territory was probably discovered, and was certainly named, after their own little seaport and fishing town, by the Portuguese. The island of Lagos has an area of 4 square miles. The colony, with Iddo Island, part of the original settlement, has been increased by annexations of petty neighbouring kingdoms, between 1862 and 1885, to an area of 1500 square miles, bounded by the River Benin on the south-east, with a population of about 100,000, mostly negroes and heathens, and including some 6000 Christians and 12,000 Mohammedans, and some 200 Europeans. The town of Lagos is the largest place on the West African coast, with a population of 35,000, and the only safe harbour for 1000 miles. The palm oil commands the highest price in the market, and this product and palm kernels, annually worth £320,000, make up the largest part of exports having a yearly value of nearly a million sterling. In 1898 there was a rising of natives against the alleged oppression of a 'hut tax' of a few shillings a year. In connection with this event we may note that, owing to the abominable indifference of so-called 'Chris-

tian' governments in Europe to the welfare of the natives of that Africa which they have so recently appropriated, the price of 'superior gin (best quality)'—(we quote from the price list of the European traders in the vilest sort of alcohol)—at Lagos is 3s. per dozen. The trade is carried on in most parts of the African coast against the earnest entreaties of native chiefs seeking to preserve the bodies and souls of their subjects.

Sierra Leone, the neighbourhood of which was reached by the Portuguese navigators in 1448, was discovered in 1462 by Da Cintra, and named 'Lion Mountain' in his tongue, from the terrific roar of the tropical thunder among its heights. The territory was first colonised in 1787, when the land now partly occupied by Freetown was acquired from a native chief by an English society for the purpose of settling freed negroes. Some hundreds of former slaves arrived from London, where they had been abandoned by their masters after Lord Mansfield's famous decision (1770) in the 'Somerset Case,' that no human being can be held as a slave on British soil. In 1792 a large number of freed negroes were brought from Nova Scotia, and in 1800 more arrived from Jamaica. A considerable number of English and Dutch, ignorant of the climatic conditions of the 'White Man's Grave,' went out to the new colony, with the result of great suffering and fearful mortality. The colony was, as regards the negroes, by no means a success at first. In 1807, after the abolition of the slave trade in the British possessions, the rights of the 'Sierra Leone Company' were transferred to the Crown, and a large population was gradually formed of negroes taken by British cruisers from captured 'slavers.' The territory was increased under various treaties with native chiefs prior to 1865, and now consists of 180 miles of coast and adjacent territory, with an area of 4000 square miles in the colony proper, and 15,000 square miles in the 'protectorate,' having a total population of nearly a quarter of

a million, including about 240 resident whites. In Sierra Leone proper there are about 41,000 Protestants and over 7000 Mohammedans. This Crown colony became a separate state in 1888, with the usual Executive and Legislative Councils nominated by the Crown, the latter body containing three natives. Education is well developed, with nearly 90 elementary and 6 'high' schools, containing in all 11,000 pupils. Fourah Bay College, near Freetown, is a training institution of the Church Missionary Society, and is affiliated to the University of Durham. The negro population presents features of interest. Having its origin in freed slaves, originally carried off by the vile agents of the traders from almost every tribe on the western and south-western coasts, the negro element is remarkable for the superior mental and moral character which has been in many cases displayed. A high authority, Sir H. H. Johnston, notes instances of 'admirable and useful recruits to civilised society' in the late excellent Bishop Crowther, Archdeacons Crowther and Johnson, Samuel Lewis, and other full-blood negroes who have won distinction as divines, lawyers and Government officials. Bishop Crowther, in particular, was one of the highest productions of the negro race. Born in 1812, with 'Adjai' as his native name, in the kingdom of Dahomey, he was rescued from slavery in 1822 and landed at Sierra Leone. After embracing Christianity, and being baptized as 'Samuel Adjai Crowther,' with a London vicar as one of his sponsors, bestowing his own name, the young African was ordained in 1842 by Bishop Blomfield of London, and then worked with great success in the mission field of West Africa. In 1864 he was consecrated Bishop of the Niger Territory, receiving at the same time, *honoris causa*, the degree of D.D. in the University of Oxford. He rendered to his fellow-negroes the service of translating the Bible into the Yoruba language, spoken by about two millions of people in a territory lying north-east of Dahomey. The negroes of Sierra

Leone show in another way a superiority of intelligence, enterprise and honesty over the people of kindred race in South Africa or the West Indies. They put aside tillage for the work of trade, and live either as storekeepers or as hawkers and barterers of goods in the Niger traffic, and in every West African trading centre. The capital, Freetown, containing over 30,000 people, is the headquarters of the Queen's West African forces, composed of 800 men of the West India Regiment, besides artillery and engineers. The defence of the frontier is conducted by about 600 armed constabulary. This greatest seaport in West Africa is an imperial coaling station of the second class, having an excellent harbour, fortified with several batteries of heavy guns. An export trade, to the annual value of half a million sterling, is carried on in palm kernels, palm oil, indiarubber, ground nuts, hides, copal, and kola nuts. In the spring of 1898 there was a serious rising in the colony, owing partly to the annual 5s. hut tax. Five chiefs had been sentenced to twelve months' imprisonment at Freetown for refusal to pay the impost, and in a short time news arrived that Major Tarbet, in command of the frontier force, was hemmed in at Karene, a British garrison town with a fort held by the frontier police. Three companies of the West India Regiment had four days and nights of conflict before they reached the town, having incurred a loss of 50 men and many of their native carriers of stores. One of the officers, Lieutenant Yeld, was shot dead. In May news reached England that the whole south-eastern district was in arms, that 'factories' or trading posts had been plundered and burnt, that every man of the West India Regiment at Freetown had been sent to the front, and that it was needful to employ marines and bluejackets from H.M.S. *Fox*. Some later information refers to the dispatch of some companies of Imperial troops from England. Here again we may note that the price of the ordinary spirits sold in the colony is 4s. 6d. per dozen; rum com-

manding 1s. per bottle. It need scarcely be said that, in the climate where this stuff is drunk, all but the most matured alcoholic liquor of the best quality, and that in very moderate doses, is poison, maddening to the brain of the drinker.

'Gold Coast' is the name of a British colony extending for 350 miles along the Gulf of Guinea, with territory having an area of about 15,000 square miles, increased by that of the 'protectorate' to over 46,000. The population is estimated at one million and a half, of whom less than 200 are Europeans. It is said that the upper Guinea coast was visited so early as the latter half of the fourteenth century by traders from Rouen and Dieppe, and that a settlement was formed on shore at La Mine, afterwards called, by the Portuguese, Elmina, with a church for worship and forts for defence. The evidence for this assertion is by no means satisfactory; in any case, the French settlement was soon abandoned. The Portuguese made settlements on the Gold Coast about 1483, and had almost a monopoly of the Guinea trade until the close of the sixteenth century. Britons and Dutchmen then appeared, the latter driving off the Portuguese after capturing their chief fort. In 1662 a 'Royal Company of Adventurers' was formed for British trade, and the Dutch settlements were, on the outbreak of war, taken by our forces, to be again lost, except Cape Coast Castle, to the famous De Ruyter. The 'Adventurers,' soon dissolved as an association, were succeeded by the 'Royal African Company,' who built forts and established factories or trading posts at several places on the coast. In 1750 this Company lost its charter in favour of another association, and there was much conflict, in a petty way, with the Dutchmen until the general peace of 1783. The new trading body, the 'African Company of Merchants,' had a yearly grant from Parliament of £13,000, a sum increased by £10,000 after the abolition of the slave trade, a chief source of their

profits, in 1807. In 1821 the Company was dissolved, and the territory, coming under charge of the Crown, was attached to the government of Sierra Leone. Before dealing with the subject of the Ashantis, we may note that, in 1850, the Danish settlements at Accra, Quetta and Addah were sold to Great Britain for £10,000; that in 1871 Holland made over all her rights on the Gold Coast to this country; and that, after various changes, the government, as that of a Crown colony, was settled in 1874, 1883 and 1886. Domestic slavery, untouched by the statute of 1807, was abolished within the 'protectorate' limits by 'ordinances' of 1874 emanating from the colonial government.

The chief historical aspect of the Gold Coast is connected with the people called Ashantis, dwelling in a negro kingdom to the north, with a large body of warriors, a superstition involving human sacrifices, and a history beginning about 1700, when Kumassi (Kumasi or Coomassie) became the capital of a conquering king. Early in the nineteenth century they came into conflict with the Fantis, once a very powerful race, but easily subdued in their degenerate condition. Some of these people in their distress appealed to the British for aid, and Sir Charles MacCarthy, Governor of Sierra Leone, took the field against an aggressive people who had always aided the Dutch in their warfare with the English in those regions. The British Governor was not aware of the military strength of his foes. In January 1824, after dividing his forces into four bodies, Sir Charles found himself, in command of one division, surrounded in a ravine by a host of Ashantis. Their numbers were overwhelming, and a part, at least, had European weapons. The Governor was killed by a musket ball in the chest, all the British officers except two were captured or slain, and MacCarthy's head and those of two officers were carried off in triumph to Kumasi. Colonel Sutherland, a new Governor, manning

the coast forts with seamen and marines, took every man of the garrisons to reinforce the army, and sent Colonel Chisholm, aided by a body of native allies, against the enemy. In May 1824 a great body of Ashantis, after some hours of fierce fighting, was driven off, but pursuit was rendered impossible by lack of stores and transport, and by the desertion of the cowardly Fanti auxiliaries. The enemy had the better of the first part of the campaign, as they returned in great force on the retirement of the British and set fire to villages near Cape Coast Castle. In July reinforcements from England arrived, and a great battle was fought, with the defeat of 16,000 Ashanti warriors, and the loss of many principal chiefs. This disaster was followed by mutiny and desertion, and the Ashanti king then withdrew from the coast districts, leaving in his rear a desolated, blood-stained region in place of fair fields and groves of maize and bananas, plantains and yams. The enemy would not be denied, and again, in July 1826, Ashanti troops appeared near the coast. A terrific battle was fought on August 7th, ending in the rout of the enemy, with an estimated loss of 5000 men. The British forces, largely composed of native allies, was weakened by more than half that number. The victory was made, in the eyes of the foe, decisive and humiliating by the capture of the king's great golden umbrella and stool of state, with a large amount of gold dust, ivory and other native forms of treasure, and especially, to the superstitious minds of the king and his warriors, by the loss of his great talisman. This was a parcel found to contain Sir Charles MacCarthy's skull, wrapped first in a paper covered with Arabic characters, then in a silk handkerchief, and lastly in leopard skin.

The colonial authorities in London, having, as usual in that day, no ideas of development in colonial territory, and no forecast of a great future, made over the rule of the Gold Coast, with a payment of some thousands from the

Exchequer, to the London, Liverpool and local merchants whose trading interests were concerned. The new Governor, in 1827, appointed by them was Mr George Maclean, who did good service, in a tenure of rule for several years, by maintaining peace through conciliation of the natives in a policy of justice, integrity, sound judgment and tact. In 1863 there was a renewal of trouble with the Ashantis when the British governor of Sierra Leone lawfully refused to surrender some slaves who had made their escape to British territory. The Ashanti king took the field with his men, attacking the land of neighbouring chiefs who were friendly to the British, burning villages, and drawing near to our frontier. With great disregard of climatic conditions, the Governor, instead of awaiting the foe, sent out an expedition in the unhealthy season. There was no fighting, but great loss of life occurred in the jungle, where even the negro West Indian troops could not bear the pestilential heat. The Ashanti forces withdrew without molesting territory within the frontier. Ten years more passed away, and again there was an Ashanti war, conducted this time on scientific principles, adapting means to ends, by a general who thoroughly understood his business. The Ashanti monarch, Koffee Kalkalli (or Kari-Kari), felt himself aggrieved by the withdrawal, on our arrangement made with Holland in 1872, of a tribute formerly paid by the Dutch. He refused to quit territory rightfully ours, and in December 1872 he left Kumasi with an army estimated at 40,000 men. The boundary river Prah was crossed and the British 'protectorate' invaded on January 29th 1873. Our allies, the Fantis, were twice defeated, and the enemy, joined by all the tribes near the coast, came before Elmina in June. In front of that coast fortress they were smartly defeated by Lieutenant-Colonel (afterwards Sir Francis) Festing, in command of some colonial troops, with marines and marine artillery landed from the ships of the West African

squadron. It was felt needful by the Home Government to deal a serious blow at Ashanti power. Its presence was a constant menace to British possessions and peaceful traders; its existence, representing, along with Dahomey, the most warlike and bloodthirsty of West African peoples, was an insult to our civilisation. The incursions made on the territory of neighbouring peoples had for their chief object the capture of prisoners to be offered as sacrifices at the solemn 'customs' or festivals. The Ashantis hated the British as the protectors of the Fantis and other native tribes, and as foes of long standing. As a first step towards the end in view, Captain (the late Sir John) Glover, a man thoroughly devoted to his country's service, and distinguished as an explorer of the Niger country, was sent eastwards from Elmina to arrange with the tribes for a flank attack on the Ashantis. In the autumn Sir Garnet (now Viscount) Wolseley was dispatched from England with a score of British officers to organise, if it were possible, a native force fit to encounter the Ashanti warriors, and to prepare the way, if needful, for the advent of an adequate British force. The enemy had been encouraged by a disaster which befel a boat expedition up the Prah, under the charge of Commodore Commerell. At a short distance up the river the men came into an ambush arranged on the river bank, and were forced to retire with severe wounds to the leader, other officers, and many seamen, and some loss of life. It was found to be impossible to gather a great native army, but an expedition of sailors and marines, starting from Elmina, with a part of the 2nd West India Regiment, cleared the enemy, after some sharp fighting, out of some villages which were then set on fire; and the neighbourhood of Elmina was freed from the Ashantis, who also suffered much from disease and short supplies of food. Some attacks of the foe on Abrakrampa and Dunquah were repulsed, and then they fell back across the Prah. Thus

far, the Ashantis had been successfully dealt with as invaders by forces from the fleet, the West Indian garrison and two native regiments led by Lieutenant-Colonel (afterwards Sir Evelyn) Wood and Major Baker Russell, each having seven or eight British officers under his command.

The news which reached England caused the authorities to resolve on the despatch of some choice British troops, in order to make a mark which should not be easily effaced. The 42nd Highlanders ('Black Watch'), a battalion of the Rifle Brigade and the 23rd Welsh Fusiliers were chosen. It was most desirable to do the work quickly and at the right season, before the rains set in, for the avoidance of the most deadly forms of disease. A road to the Prah was undertaken by men in charge of Lieutenant Gordon, of the 93rd Highlanders, an officer who had volunteered for service, but it was not completed when the troops from England, in December 1873, arrived off the coast. Sir Garnet judiciously sent them to cruise about in pure air until all was ready. Early in January 1874 the troops were landed, except the 23rd Regiment, kept in reserve in order to avoid increasing the great difficulty of transport of stores of food and ammunition. The force which started from Cape Coast Castle for the Prah included, besides the 42nd and men of the Rifle Brigade, a naval brigade of sailors and marines, some companies of the 1st and 2nd West India Regiments; a battery of little mountain guns under Captain Rait, with some rocket tubes; a party of Royal Engineers, and the two native regiments, partly composed of the brave and faithful Haussas, a Sudanese people of Mohammedan faith, under Evelyn Wood and Baker Russell. On January 5th 1874 the advance troops crossed the Prah, at Prahsu, into Ashanti territory, and after the arrival of some envoys from the king, who brought and took back letters, and some skirmishing in the jungle,

the troops came, in a long column of march, near the enemy's main position for the defence of the capital. The difficulties already encountered had been serious enough. The 'cool' season had abundant terrors for the 1500 European officers and men, and hundreds of lives were saved by the forethought of the commander in providing sanitary and scientific safeguards. Pocket filters purified the water for drinking, daily doses of quinine were taken by every man under an officer's eye. The march through the Ashanti 'bush' or jungle lay amid thickly-growing trees from 40 to 50 feet in height, covered with interlacing creepers and wild vines, below which was a dense undergrowth of various shrubs and plants requiring removal with sharp tools before a pathway could exist. Above all rose the huge forest trees, reaching a height of 250 to 300 feet. The twilight thus created reeked with a steam like that of a newly-watered hothouse. The tracks cut by hatchet or sword were soon worn down, by pressure on the soft, moist earth, into ditches 2 or 3 feet deep. In some spots were clearings due to the cutting away of trees and underwood for use as fuel in villages.

Such was the country through which the invading army had to make its way amid unseen foes, of force unknown, ever ready to attack the column in front, on both flanks and in the rear. Field guns and rocket tubes were kept ready for instant service at several points of the long column, to pour their fire into the thickets, and special vigilance was used by night against surprise. It was on January 31st that the foe was found in great force at a place called Amoaful, about 20 miles from the capital, Kumasi. The victory there achieved is not the least brilliant in the long roll of successes won by British troops against savage foes. From a village called Quarman the men moved forth in three columns—front, left, and right—the left, under Colonel M'Leod; the right,

led by Lieutenant-Colonel Wood, V.C. In the rear of the left column, behind Baker Russell's regiment of Haussas, the commander, Sir Garnet Wolseley, smoking a cigar, was carried in a chair by four men. The enemy, sheltered by crests of the ground in more open places, or behind trees, and in clumps of bush, poured in showers of bullets from all sides, the incessant fire being due, as was afterwards found, to each warrior having two or three muskets, swiftly loaded by trained women crouching in the rear. The British troops, kneeling or lying down, kept up a swift, steady fire from the well-depressed muzzles of the breech-loaders, and the mountain guns sent shell and grape, and the rocket tubes their screaming missiles into the bush. The Haussas, behaving on the whole with splendid courage, quailed at times before the Ashanti fire, and the nerves even of the Highlanders were for a moment shaken. The loss of life would have been far greater for the victors but for the enormous charges of powder used by the foe to fire the three or four slugs of chopped-up lead. The noise made by the discharge of each musket was almost as loud as that of a small field gun, but the muskets threw high, and countless slugs passed over the heads of our men, almost covering them with showers of leaves cut from the trees above. By slow degrees the front and the ground to right and left were cleared of the foe, and about noon the Highlanders entered Amoaful, with a loss, up to that time, of 104 men killed and wounded out of 450. The able arrangements made by Wolseley caused the repulse of all the enemy's flank and rear attacks, on which they usually relied for victory, and after the defeat of some desperate assaults on Quarman, now some distance in the rear, an order for a general advance, driving the enemy northwards, was given. On some open ground the 42nd made a brilliant charge, laying low the enemy by hundreds with their rifles, and the

Ashantis retreated after a battle of ten hours' duration with the loss of 250 men to the victors. The simplicity and superstition of the Ashantis were illustrated by prisoners, some of whom piteously declared that 'the British did not fight fair, as they fired without loading,' in allusion to the incessant fire kept up by so small a number of men; others placed their hands over the hearts of our men, hoping thereby to be inspired with the courage of the whites. The Ashantis, however, had shown rare prowess, and severe fighting took place during the four days' advance over 25 miles of ground to Kumasi. On the evening of February 4th the place was occupied, with the capture of the king's state umbrella. Koffee Kalkalli had fled into the bush, and at first declined to come to terms. The town, with very wide streets, and trees growing in them, resembled a huge, straggling village. The houses were like Chinese temples, having an alcove outside, with red steps, a high-raised floor, and white pillars supporting the roofs. The 'fetish' superstition was ludicrously displayed in the number of charms—gourds, amulets, beads, bones, bits of china and other trash—suspended over every door, and most horribly, in thousands of skeletons of human victims. The whole place reeked with blood, even the palace itself, covering a large area, with a central stone edifice in European style, forming a storehouse filled with articles of furniture, silver plate, clocks, glass, gold masks, china, guns, caskets, cloth, and many other articles. There was a torrent of rain on the following day, and Sir Garnet Wolseley, bethinking him of swollen streams and of swamps on the return march to the coast, started back with his men on February 6th, when the Engineers had set fire to the houses and blown up the palace.

We must now return to Captain Glover, whom we saw at the outset of this narrative. That excellent officer, having gathered a force of Haussas and other natives,

came in from the east on February 12th, and passed with his men through the smoking ruins of the Ashanti capital. He had met with little resistance, and this famous flank march, bringing a new foe on the scene, greatly impressed the Ashanti monarch. He sent messengers in haste to overtake the British general, and a peace was concluded on the conditions that Koffee renounced all claims on the British 'protectorate,' and undertook the safety of traders in his country, the abandonment of human sacrifices, and the maintenance of a good road from the Prah to Kumasi. A payment of 1000 ounces of gold was an earnest of a promised indemnity of 50,000 ounces. The British commander, declining a title, was rewarded with a sum of £25,000, and Captain Glover became K.C.M.G. The nature of the climate in this part of Africa appears from the facts that though the expedition was made in the so-called 'cool, healthy season,' and every precaution against malaria was taken, 24 officers died of fever or dysentery against 7 killed in action or mortally wounded; and the percentage of sick among the white troops varied from 70 to 95 in the different corps. There were hundreds who felt the effects in after years.

The success achieved by General Wolseley and his men had the effect of maintaining peace for many years between the Ashantis and the British authorities on the Gold Coast. In 1881 there was an appearance of coming trouble in the arrival at Elmina of certain envoys bringing with them the golden axe. These men demanded the surrender of a prince or chief who had escaped to British territory. The Governor of the Gold Coast saw a threat of war in the bringing of the axe, and sent for some reinforcement of troops. The Ashanti king then withdrew his pretensions, and an apology was made to the Government, with the payment of 2000 ounces of gold as an indemnity for expenses incurred through his demeanour, and the surrender of the golden axe, which

was sent to England as an offering to the Queen. In 1888 a truculent personage, King Prempeh, became ruler of the Ashantis. The attention of the British Government was called in 1895 to his failure to carry out the provisions of the treaty of 1874 with regard to the abolition of human sacrifices, and of raids on neighbouring territory for the capture of slaves. When satisfaction on these points was refused, an expedition was fitted out in England under the direction of Lord Wolseley, who had become Commander-in-Chief on the retirement of the Duke of Cambridge. A demand had been addressed to the Ashanti monarch for the reception of a British 'Resident' at Kumasi to secure the execution of treaty undertakings, and his rejection of this proposal brought a declaration of war. The troops despatched to Cape Coast Castle, under the command of Sir Francis Scott, had with them two royal princes, Christian Victor, eldest son of Prince and Princess Christian, and one of the Queen's sons-in-law, Prince Henry of Battenberg. The latter, husband of Queen Victoria's youngest daughter, Princess Beatrice, had in the course of ten years of married life become dear to the sovereign and to all who knew him. His presence with the expedition was due solely to his own manly and grateful wish to render some public service to his adopted country, and he went forth well knowing the deadly nature of the climate of the country where he was about to serve. Early in 1896 the troops crossed the Prah, and met with no resistance on the road to the Ashanti capital. The region was, in fact, deserted by the warriors of King Prempeh. Not a shot was fired in the course of this bloodless war, and on January 20th the king, surrounded by his chiefs, made a humiliating submission in his capital, literally kneeling on a biscuit box, in presence of the Governor of the Gold Coast, Mr (the late Sir W. E.) Maxwell. He went as a prisoner to Cape Coast Castle, attended by his nearest relatives and

three petty kings. The fetish houses and groves of bloodshed were destroyed, and the expedition then returned to the coast, having rendered to humanity the signal service of sweeping away for ever a system of barbarous cruelty and degrading superstition. There were again, as in 1874, many cases of malarial fever among the troops, and one victim was, unhappily, Prince Henry of Battenberg, who died on board H.M.S. *Blonde* on his voyage from Cape Coast Castle to Madeira. The kingdom of Ashanti then became a British 'protectorate,' with a Resident at Kumasi. Nothing more hideous had existed under the sun than the system by which human beings were sacrificed to the spirits at the harvest festival, to the king's ancestral ghosts, on the death of all great chiefs, on any pretence that might occur to the savage monster whose example was followed by every chieftain in the Ashanti 'empire.' At Kumasi, meaning 'the place of death,' whole streets were set apart for the habitation of the executioners of men, women and children doomed to die by the hacking off of heads on the edge of a huge execution bowl five feet in diameter.

Some effects of the change of rule in Ashanti were quickly visible. British power had come in at last, not merely to strike a heavy blow, as in 1874, and then withdraw itself, but to stay in abiding beneficence to the denizens of a great territory. The people welcomed their new masters. Missionaries were quickly at work in the land; the country was open to all traders. At the capital a great space was cleared, in the centre of the town, of all the trees and buildings, and there a fort of stone and brick was erected, with corner turrets mounting the terrible Maxim guns, an engine of warfare introduced since Wolseley's expedition. A solid roadway was made between Kumasi and the coast, with 'shelters' or 'rest-houses' at four points on the route. In the spring of 1898 a large quantity of railway material was being shipped

from Liverpool for the purpose of making a 3 foot 6 inch line from Tacorady Bay to Tarquah, in a gold-mining district, and thence to Kúmasi; and at Tacorady, the best harbour on the Gold Coast, piers and wharves were to be erected for the unloading of vessels. The chief products of the Gold Coast colony are palm oil, palm kernels, india-rubber and gold. The fruit of the oil palm, which does not grow near the coast, is brought from inland on the heads of native carriers and by canoes down the Volta River. The oil, which is obtained by boiling in water the bruised pulp of the orange-coloured fruit, is consumed by the natives as butter; the exported article, having an annual value, with the kernels sent for crushing to Marseilles, Hamburg and other European ports, of about £330,000, is largely used in the manufacture of candles, soap, and grease for railway wheels. The indiarubber trade, of recent origin, has an export of about the same value. The gold industry is one revived since 1889, the metal being found in small grains and nuggets mixed with gravel or red loam, and sometimes in quartz, and in sand from river beds. The export is worth nearly £100,000 a year. The seat of government is Accra, on the coast, almost in a longitudinal line with Greenwich, having a population of 20,000, and being the chief seat of commerce. At Elmina, between the mouth of the Prah and Cape Coast Castle, there are 11,000 peoole; Adda, far to the east, near the mouth of the Volta, and Cape Coast Castle, are towns of about the same size, the latter being defended by the great castle near the water's edge, and by three small forts on the heights.

CHAPTER V

BRITISH BOMBARDMENT OF ALGIERS. THE FRENCH IN ALGERIA AND TUNIS. TRIPOLI. MOROCCO

ALGERIA, a country with an area, if we take the 30th parallel of north latitude as the southern limit, of about 258,000 square miles, has three distinct regions. The northern, called the *Tell*, is somewhat larger than England, generally mountainous, with fruitful valleys intersecting the hills, and in some places having a fertile plain between the hills and the sea, as the Metidjah, south of Algiers, and the plain of Oran. This part of the country has an average breadth of nearly 50 miles. South of the Tell lies the central region of mountainous plateaux, rich in spring with a sudden growth of long grass and aromatic herbage, eagerly eaten by the numerous herds of cattle. This district is bounded on the south by a chain of mountains attaining in one peak the height of 7590 feet, the culminating point of the whole country. Southwards again is the Algerian Sahara, the third division, equal in area to the other two combined, and consisting partly of sand dunes, always sterile, partly of land that produces herbage after rain; there are many oases around the wells. The whole population may now be estimated at four and a quarter millions, the Mussulman subjects of France comprising about three-fourths of that number, divided between Arabs and Berbers. The Arabs are either

nomads in the southern territory, rearing cattle, or tillers and cattle breeders in the Tell. The Moors of the towns and villages on or near the coast are a mixed stock of the Arab and the ancient Mauritanian and Berber races; the true Berbers, numbering nearly three-quarters of a million, mostly dwell in the mountainous parts of the eastern department, Constantine. The two other departments are Algiers in the centre and Oran in the west. We should note that the last-named race, the Berbers proper, are the famous Kabyles of Franco-Algerian warfare.

In the seventh century the whole country was conquered by the Saracens, and ultimately divided into petty states, with a general relapse into barbarism. The city of Algiers was built in the tenth century by an Arab prince. After the downfall, in the thirteenth century, of the Moorish dynasty of the Almohades, the country was again split up into small territories. Then arose a kingdom of Tlemcen, in the west of Oran, to which state many towns became tributary. When Spanish bigotry, with suicidal folly, drove the Moors and Jews out of south-western Europe at the close of the fifteenth century and in subsequent times, the intelligent and cultured exiles largely settled in Algeria, and a warfare of revenge was started by them in the shape of the piracy which became so formidable. King Ferdinand of Spain captured Algiers in 1509, but in 1516 the renowned Turkish pirate, Uruj Barbarossa, called in as an ally against the Spaniards, remained as a conqueror, became Sultan of Algiers, and organised the system of corsair raids on European commerce which was the terror of Mediterranean traders for three centuries. His successor, for his own safety, became a vassal of the Ottoman Porte, and strongly fortified his capital, Algiers, also protecting his galleys by the erection of a substantial mole. The Turkish Sultan conceded to the Algerian Janissaries, recruited in Turkey, the right of choosing their own 'Dey,' to share power with the Turkish Pasha, but

early in the eighteenth century the Sultan's deputy was expelled, and the Deys of Algiers became really independent sovereigns, in nominal subjection to the Porte.

There is nothing more remarkable in modern history than the pusillanimous patience with which great maritime and naval powers in Europe permitted their commercial subjects to be pitilessly plundered by the audacious corsairs of this part of northern Africa. Many expeditions were despatched, but none in strength enough to make an end, once and for ever, of a set of insolent savages. Charles V., at the height of his power, miserably failed against Algiers. International jealousy was partly the cause of the impunity long enjoyed by the corsairs. France favoured the pirates as a menace and injury to Spain. Holland, in the sixteenth century, allied herself with the Algerines against her commercial rivals. In 1655, indeed, Robert Blake, the Nelson of his day, acting for the great ruler who, regicide and despot, in spite of himself, as he was, nobly maintained the honour of England abroad, forced the Algerian ruler to submission by a mere display of his ships and the terror of his name. In 1683 the French admiral, Du Quesne, destroyed some of the fortifications of Algiers by bombardment, but the lesson was not effectual, and the French and English governments disgraced themselves by making treaties with the Dey for the protection of their commerce, only to find the piratical practices resumed. Thousands of mariners were captured on the high seas and reduced to slavery, and great nations seemed to be in positive terror of men whose whole fleet was no match for a mere squadron of modern men-of-war. Most of the maritime states of Europe were represented at Algiers by consular agents, and these officials, from lack of support by their own governments, had to submit to the most galling insults from the Deys, who were nothing but ignorant common soldiers, Janissaries elected to the post from the ranks by their own comrades. There were occa-

sions when the English consul and all his countrymen in the city were thrown into prison and their goods plundered, with no chance of redress. Each fresh consul had to pay heavy bribes, styled 'customary presents,' to the Dey, and that personage on one occasion contemptuously handed over to his head cook a splendidly jewelled watch in the presence of the English donor. The etiquette of the Dey's court required the consul to remove his shoes and sword, and reverently kiss the rascally ruler's hand. In 1767 the Honourable A. C. Fraser was the first consul who flatly refused to submit to this degradation, and his successor was charged by the government of George III. 'to conduct himself in a manner agreeable to the Dey.' In 1803 Consul Falcon was arrested on a false charge, and forcibly expelled the city. In 1808, when the usual tribute from Denmark, paid for the safety of her commerce, did not arrive in time, the Danish consul was heavily ironed, flung into the common prison, and set to labour with the slaves. The united protests of the whole consular body procured his release, but his wife died from the shock. A French consul, about the same time, perished under like treatment. Towards the end of the great war with Napoleon, the Dey of Algiers received a letter from the Prince Regent, accompanied by valuable presents, and the British Government thus appeared ready to connive at mischief done to the commerce of other nations if respect were shown to the British flag. When a new nation arose in the United States, the Dey found a fresh source of blackmail, and the American Government, having no fleet, was forced to make a treaty which included the payment of tribute to the piratical potentate.

At last civilisation, wearied out, turned on the barbarian oppressor, the example being set by the United States. In 1815 the Washington government sent a squadron to Algiers, and in two days, without the use of force, a treaty was concluded by which all their money pay-

ment or tribute to the Dey was abolished, all American captives and property were given up, and the inviolability of the 'stars and stripes' was declared. The British Government was thus shamed into action, and Lord Exmouth, a brave and able commander—as Sir Edward Pellew, in the great war—was sent with a squadron to obtain favourable terms from the Dey for the Ionian Islands as British dependencies, and to arrange for treaties of peace and amity in behalf of some of the minor states on the Mediterranean. This intervention of Great Britain was really a discredit to the country. The admiral, not being authorised to employ force, had to content himself with providing that Naples should be exempt from piracy on the regular payment of tribute and the 'customary presents,' and that Sardinian vessels should be free from attack on present payment of a sum of money. The Dey positively refused to renounce in general the practice of kidnapping Christians as slaves, without the permission of his suzerain the Sultan. The British admiral was personally insulted ashore, and two of his officers were dragged from their horses by the mob and marched through the streets with their hands tied behind their backs. Mr M'Donnell, the consul, was put under guard, and his wife and other ladies of his family were driven into the city in ignominious fashion from their country house. Lord Exmouth, made helpless by his orders, had to sail for home after arranging with the Dey for negotiations to be conducted by envoys from Algiers to London and Constantinople. The ships were dismantled and the crews were paid off, when news reached England of a gross outrage which had been committed before the fleet had left Mediterranean waters. It was afterwards proved that the orders for this atrocity had been issued while the British admiral and his fleet were at Algiers. In 1806 our Government had made an arrangement with the Dey for the opening of the ports of Bona and Oran to Italians engaged in the

coral fishery. At those ports they were to be considered as carrying on their business under the protection of the British flag. On May 23rd 1816 a large number of boats from the coast of Italy was assembled at Bona, and the fishermen were about to hear mass for the festival of the Ascension falling on that date, when a gun was fired from the Algerine fort, and a body of cavalry and infantry came rushing down on those who had landed, and firing volleys at the men still aboard the boats. The guns of the fort aided the massacre, and this murderous scene was followed by the tearing down and trampling under foot of the British flag, and the plundering of the house of our vice-consul. At last the Dey had overstepped the mark, and the British Government resolved on signal chastisement.

A fleet was instantly prepared for sea. There was no need to send out press-gangs to obtain crews, as men volunteered in thousands from the guardships and from every man-of-war, eager to have a share in the new crusade. On July 21st 1816 Lord Exmouth sailed from Portsmouth in his flagship, the *Queen Charlotte*, 108 guns, leading a squadron of fifteen vessels of 10 to 104 guns. At Plymouth the admiral picked up the *Impregnable*, 98 guns, and the *Minden*, *Albion* and *Superb*, all 74. When the great floating castles had spread their white wings, and Plymouth was down below the horizon, Exmouth gave orders that the men should be exercised at the guns, twice a day at the mere motions, and once a week with blank cartridge. On Friday, August 9th, the coasts of Spain and Morocco opened, and at gun fire, as the cannon at exercise were volleying quick and loud, the fleet came opposite Cape Trafalgar. At Gibraltar the armament was reinforced by five Dutch 36-gun frigates and a sloop, a fleet whose admiral, Baron Van Cappellan, did honour to himself and his country by begging to be allowed to join in the expedition. Five British gunboats were

added to the force, and Lord Exmouth at once prepared for work by clearing the lower decks of their cabins, sending ashore all superfluous partitions, and packing baggage away in the cockpits. The corvette *Prometheus* was sent on to Algiers to bring off Consul M'Donnell and his family. The commander, Captain Dashwood, succeeded in rescuing Mrs and Miss M'Donnell, who escaped in the disguise of midshipmen's clothes, but a second boat was less fortunate. The baby cried just as it was being carried in a basket by the ship's surgeon past a sentinel, and the whole party were taken before the Dey. All were released except the boat's crew, the baby being sent on board as a solitary instance of the ruffian's humanity. The consul remained in his own house, a chained prisoner. On August 14th, under a light sou'-wester, the fleet weighed and set sail from Gibraltar Bay. The Dey, meanwhile, was making mockery of the British expedition, and, in conversation with a Danish merchant captain who was admitted to an audience—'As for their shells,' he cried, pointing to the ceiling where fruit was hung for winter use, 'I shall hang them up in my rooms like those melons.' The Dane quietly replied, 'You don't know the English shells. I was at Copenhagen when the English came there, and I know what their shells are.' For some days the progress of the avenging fleet was delayed by adverse winds, and the admiral employed the time in arranging his plan of attack, settling every ship's place around his own vessel, and in exercising the gunners by firing at marks set up on board the ships. Wonderful accuracy of aim was displayed, and the men were all eager to set to work on the real object. On August 27th, at early morning, Algiers hove in sight, with its terraces of white marble and stone rising step by step, the domes and lance-like minarets of mosques below, the whole spreading out in a great triangle, the apex upwards. Beyond the walls, on the hillsides and the green plains, were feathery palms, gardens of olives, and

groves of orange, clumps of spiky aloes and wild cactus. On the horizon, faint and blue, capped with snow, rose the peaks of the Lesser Atlas.

Salamé, the Egyptian interpreter to the fleet, was sent ashore, under a flag of truce, with a letter demanding the instant abolition of Christian slavery and the surrender of all Christian slaves, the restoration of the ransom money for slaves recently paid by the Kings of Naples and Sardinia, a peace with the King of Holland and the liberation of the British consul and the two boats' crews of the *Prometheus*. The interpreter handed the letter at the Great Mole to the captain of the fort, but declined to land, and he, with the first lieutenant and six seamen, remained where they were for three hours and a half within pistol-shot of the walls, watched by thousands of fierce turbaned men—negroes, Kabyles, Arabs, Moors and Turks —who mocked and taunted them, handling their yataghans and matchlocks in threatening style. The British party passed the weary hours in reconnoitring the formidable batteries of the piratical stronghold. The forts on the north side joined the Mole, with its semi-circular battery, in two tiers, of 44 guns. The lighthouse tower showed three tiers of 48 guns. The eastern battery displayed three tiers of 60 guns, flanked by two others, having as many more in two tiers. Near the Mole were two small works, carrying 20 guns, and the 'Fish Market Battery.' Another line of armed works joined the large forts which the Dutchmen were to assail. The upper part of the 4 miles of walls, enclosing a population of 100,000, was well supplied with cannon, and defended by two citadels. The city was in a ferment, as thousands of men gathered in arms to repel the attack of the 'infidels.' Thirty-six gunboats and frigates were being towed out from inside the Mole to the side of the city unprovided with batteries, the vessels flying battle banners of red silk. When it was past one o'clock, and a good breeze from the

sea was just arising, the fleet moved onward towards the city. Lord Exmouth saw the interpreter's boat returning, flying the signal 'No answer received.' The ships were at once ordered to take up their appointed stations, the *Queen Charlotte* leading. The Dey was about to know the meaning and use of British shells. When the interpreter, more dead than alive from his prolonged fear of having his boat scuttled at any moment by the Mole batteries, came on board, he found the mild-mannered admiral, a man of sixty years, changed, in the near prospect of battle, into a raging lion, as if just let loose from a cage. His only words were, 'Never mind, we shall see now.' Turning to his officers, he said, in stern tones, 'Be ready.' The seamen were at each gun, the match or the lock-strings in hand, waiting for the word. No shot came from the shore as the vessels moved on under the action of the wind. The enemy had not, in fact, expected so rapid, close and daring an attack. They had never learnt by experience the nature of British seamen, and they hoped that the mere sight of the armed works of Algiers would deter them. The guns were not even loaded until most of the fleet had passed the batteries, and thus a part of the enemy's force was neutralised, and could not be brought to bear on vessels that had once passed the lines of fire. Thus does sheer audacity bring safety to the daring.

It was a quarter to three when the *Queen Charlotte*, amid the cheers of the men aboard other ships, took up her station, with but three feet of water under her keel, within a hundred yards of the Mole Head batteries, in a position so well chosen that only four or five guns from those strong works could be brought to bear, though the flagship was fully exposed to musketry and to other batteries. For a few minutes there was deep silence as the other ships took up their appointed places, the *Impregnable*, *Superb* and *Albion*, slow sailers, lagging somewhat behind. It was about six minutes to three when, from the eastern

battery, a gun was fired at the *Impregnable*, a warning, it seemed, against the advance of that ship and her two consorts. This spirt of fire was the signal for one of the grandest and most awful engagements of wooden ships against massive stone forts that ever took place in the history of war. It was the beginning of an action which continued without a moment's intermission for over six hours, until nine at night, and did not wholly cease until half-past eleven. Lord Exmouth, at the moment when he saw the smoke of the Algerine gun, and before the report had reached his ears, cried, 'That will do. Fire, my fine fellows!' The first broadside from the *Queen Charlotte* was quickly followed by those of the other ships, and the shells went hissing and splitting, and scattering death, into the narrow, steep, gloomy streets, among the blind walls, into pillared fountain courts, through the doors of mosques, and into the orange gardens of palaces. Above 500 men were at once swept away. Before the discharge, crowds of soldiers were seen gathered in open spaces. As the smoke cleared away, survivors were beheld crawling behind walls for shelter on feet and hands. The enemy's guns were soon at work with great effect, and the British seamen toiled and fought as they alone can. On board the *Severn* the seamen's wives were in the thick of it, passing shot and powder to their husbands and their shipmates. Lord Exmouth, wishing for clear air in order to make some observations, could scarcely get his men to cease fire for a few minutes. The hostile fire, at close quarters, was of a deadly character. The *Impregnable*, under the eastern battery, had 73 men killed and 137 wounded. The *Leander* was ripped and torn by the guns of the Fish Market Battery. The admiral was running about with a white handkerchief tied round his waist for recognition, a round hat on his head, and a telescope in his hand, alert and active as a midshipman, shouting his orders. His only wounds were slight—one in the cheek, another in the leg; his telescope was shattered in his hand, and his coat was

slit and torn to pieces by musket balls. A spectacle of the utmost grandeur was presented as the flotilla of British mortar, gun and rocket boats—the last discharging the famous Congreve rockets—set fire to all the ships of war in the port, the flames swiftly spreading over the whole arsenal, storehouses and gunboats. The Dutchmen played a good part in the work of this glorious day, with the loss of 13 men slain and 52 not mortally stricken. The British squadron had 160 men and boys killed and 692 wounded. Such was the price paid, in good brave flesh and blood, for the pleasure of dealing a heavy blow at cruelty and oppression. The Dey, ignorant and cruel tyrant as he was, had the courage of his race, and was in the Lighthouse Battery throughout the battle, beneath his red, white and yellow flag, the folds of his robes and turban full of powder dust, his face and beard begrimed with smoke. The two squadrons, British and Dutch, expended 262,777 lbs. of powder in firing off 51,356 rounds of solid shot, and the British bomb vessels discharged 960 rounds of 13-inch and 26-inch shells. The gunner of the *Queen Charlotte*, Mr Stone, a man of seventy, who had been in thirty actions, declared that he never before used so much powder in a day, the ship having employed 30,424 lbs. of powder in firing off 4462 rounds of shot. The *Impregnable*, the vessel most severely handled by the enemy, was hulled by 263 shots, twenty of which passed between wind and water; and the work done by her gallant crew, with the great loss to themselves above stated, is shown by the fact that they discharged 6730 round shot, the commander, Rear-Admiral Milne, having ordered every gun to be double-loaded. In return for this expenditure of powder, shot and shell, the victors could point to the smashing of the lower batteries of Algiers into shapeless ruins; to the destruction of the Dey's whole fleet, except two vessels, in the burning of four large 44-gun frigates, five large corvettes from 24 to 30 guns, thirty gun and mortar boats, several merchant

brigs and schooners, and a great number of small vessels of various kinds; and to the slaughter of at least 6000 supporters of the system of piracy. The whole money loss incurred by the ruler of Algiers may be estimated as above a million sterling.

At about eleven o'clock at night, amid the blazing of the storehouses, arsenals and fleet of the foe, Lord Exmouth signalled for his ships to move out of the line of fire from upper batteries, which could not be reached by his guns, to cut cables and to make sail. A soft land breeze soon arose, and all hands were busy in warping and towing off. About one in the morning of August 28th the admiral, still in high spirits after his many hours of incessant toil, received the congratulations of the old Dutch commander, who declared himself to be 'quite happy to die now we have got full satisfaction from these pirates,' and then sat down with his officers to supper and proposed the health of every brave man in the fleet. His first task, when he arose on the same morning, was to despatch Salamé and an officer, under a flag of truce, with a renewal, in the sternest terms, of his former demands, acceptance to be signified by the firing of three guns. The bomb vessels were also ordered into a position ready for immediate renewal of the fire in case of need. As Salamé's boat approached the shore, it was fired at several times, but not hit, from one of the forts; and then an officer of the Dey's appeared, complaining that the English, on the previous day, had fired before an answer could be sent. He also expressed his opinion that the English were 'a litigious people.' When the Great Mole was reached by the British party, all the guns except four or five were found to be dismounted. The bay was full of smoking hulks, and the water around the Mole was black and strewn with corpses, drifting timber and floating charcoal. The three guns were, in due time, fired from the shore, and Salamé, with the consul, who had been released, and other

officials, had an interview with the Dey. He was found sitting on a high Turkish sofa, in a narrow gallery on the third floor, on the sea front of the palace, gazing at his red slippers, with his bare legs crossed, and a long, cherry-stemmed pipe in his hand. He was very angry, of coarse demeanour, and, devoid of Oriental courtesy, he asked none of his visitors to sit down. He consented to restore the money paid by the Neapolitan and Sardinian Governments, to liberate at once all the Christian slaves in the town, and the others as soon as they should arrive from Bona, Constantine and Oran. With much reluctance he then agreed to give the ill-treated consul 3000 dollars compensation, and, with a savage look at Salamé, interpreting the demands, he sullenly repeated in Arabic the apology dictated.

Three days after the battle a touching sight was presented on the arrival at the shore of the released captives—nearly 1100 Neapolitans, Sicilians, Romans, Spaniards and other natives of southern Europe, with 28 Dutchmen and 18 Englishmen. Among the foreigners there were men who had been slaves for thirty-five years, their legs and waists eaten into deep black furrows by chains—men who had been employed in quarrying stone from the hills, felling trees, moving guns, and dragging building materials. Their daily allowance of food had been 10 ounces of black bean bread, a handful of peas and a little oil. All this had they borne and survived, to be rescued at last through one of the noblest achievements of British tars. As the freed men crowded to the shore, eager to reach the boats, they were nearly mad with joy, 'leaping and praising God,' like true 'muscular Christians.' When they drew near the victorious fleet they waved their caps with cheers loud and long for 'the King of England,' and the 'Admiral of England.' It may be well, in these days when 'Christian' emperors degrade themselves and their countries by ostentatious professions of friendship for the man denounced as

the 'Great Assassin' by the noble statesman who has recently passed away, to show what manner of men have been allowed to rule, during the nineteenth century, in countries subject to the supreme authority of the Sultan. When the Dey of Algiers brought to terms by Lord Exmouth was 'Aga' of the Janissaries, he had roasted the children of the Bey of Oran, and had compelled the father, whom he afterwards scalped and flayed, to eat portions of their flesh. His predecessor at Algiers had been in the habit of murdering his wives and salting their bodies down in jars. He was at last suffocated in his bath by one of his black slaves. It is supremely satisfactory to the historian to conclude this narrative concerning Algiers in 1816 by recording that, shortly after the departure of the fleets, the Dey was flung out of the gallery window by some of his Janissaries, disgusted by defeat. The two succeeding Deys were in power for only one year each. The Turkish Sultan did not at all object to this rapid change of rulers at Algiers, as each Dey paid, on his acceptance of office, a sum equivalent to £100,000.

It is somewhat humiliating to be forced to admit that the tremendous lesson conveyed by Lord Exmouth's guns did not put an end to Algerine piracy. The instructions given to the British admiral did not go far enough. He should have been allowed to exact pledges for future good behaviour, and to utterly destroy all the fortifications, with a proviso against the mounting, in future, of a single gun. After the battle of Algiers a new Dey carried off free European girls, violated the sanctity of the British consulate, and harassed Mr. M'Donnell by various kinds of persecution. He was at last recalled by the government which would not undertake, on behalf of humanity and of the honour of the British flag, another severe and final chastisement, and the work of abolishing the Barbary corsairs in their chief stronghold was left for France to achieve.

French rulers had, as we have seen, long prior to the nineteenth century, been in conflict with the Algerian heads of the chief piratical state. There were treaties of 'peace and friendship' between France and Algiers in the eighteenth century, arrangements which were supposed to afford some security to French traders on the Mediterranean. The revolution of 1789 brought no change in the relations of the two countries, and the treaties were renewed in 1791 and 1793. A change came with Bonaparte's expedition to Egypt. The Sultan made an appeal for aid to all supporters of Islam, and the corsairs were again let loose on French commerce with serious results. The French consul and his countrymen were flung into prison, but matters were nominally adjusted by the peace made with Turkey in 1800. The undertakings of the Dey in behalf of French subjects were, however, so ill carried out that in 1803 we find Bonaparte, as 'First Consul,' addressing a threatening letter to the Dey Moustafa, who replied in obsequious terms. His friendly attitude continued only so long as French men-of-war were afloat in the Mediterranean, and when the last work of Nelson, off Cape Trafalgar, had swept the French flag from the seas, the Algerian ruler paid little heed to French interests. Maltese and Spaniards were admitted to share in commercial privileges once confined to the French, and open hostility was displayed in the sale of certain French establishments on Algerian soil to Great Britain. The piratical attacks on French trade were resumed, and Frenchmen were again enslaved in Algeria. The astronomer Arago became one of the Dey's victims as a prisoner for a short time. Napoleon, in spite of British predominance on the sea, planned an expedition of vengeance against the Dey, and sent one of the best of his naval officers, Captain Boutin, to explore the coast and select a suitable point for disembarkation. This officer accomplished his task with scrupulous zeal, and his skilful choice was prophetic in

selecting Sidi-Ferruch, a place on the shore a dozen miles west of Algiers, as the right spot. The projected expedition never sailed, but it was at Sidi-Ferruch that, twenty-three years later, Frenchmen landed and commenced the operations which ended, after a long struggle, in the conquest of Algeria.

In 1818 a Dey named Hussein came into power. He was born in Asia Minor about 1768, son of an artillery officer, and his own ability and a good training raised him to a high rank in his father's branch of the service. Emigrating to Algiers, he became a successful merchant, and, gaining the notice of Dey Omar, he was appointed Secretary of the regency, with charge of the state domains. He stood equally well with the next Dey, and succeeded him by his appointment and with the approval of the Janissaries. He was soon compelled, by the hostility of certain mutinous troops, to seek security within his palace walls, but thence he was able to exercise for twelve years a rule distinguished by justice and firmness. He was a reformer in the sense of desiring to introduce European civilisation, and he might have attained his end, and become at Algiers a Mahmoud of Constantinople or a Mohammed Ali of Cairo, if he had not become embroiled with France. The French consul, Deval, a native of the Levant, well acquainted with the Turkish language and manners, had acquired, in the course of years of work as a dragoman at Pera, the supple and obsequious air of Orientals who serve. He was, in this respect, ill suited to represent the French nation and French interests. He was devoid of the dignity and stiffness of demeanour needful for those who, dealing with Orientals, are liable to have yielding imputed to fear, and long-suffering mistaken for cowardice. Not far from Bona there was a strip of territory styled the *concessions d'Afrique*, which had been for three centuries in French possession, subject to the payment of a small annual tribute to the Deys. The ground

was useful to French merchants engaged in the coral fishery on that part of the coast. In 1817 Hussein's predecessor insisted that the annual tribute should be raised from 17,000 to 60,000 francs. Deval was weak enough to consent. In 1819 Hussein, knowing his man, threatened to withdraw the privilege unless the payment was raised to 200,000 francs. Again Deval gave way to the demand. The sums of money thus paid were thrown away, for the Dey, in 1826, threw open the coral fishery to all nations, and, with rare insolence, declared that the French merchants must still pay the annual sum to his exchequer. The French Government had other causes of complaint against the Dey—violation of domicile of French consular agents; extortionate charges at the custom house on French goods; the plunder of vessels on the sea; the seizure of Italian (Roman) ships protected by the French flag. The Dey, at last, believing himself to have good grounds of complaint against Deval with reference to certain financial affairs between Algerine merchants and the French Government, brought matters to a crisis, in April 1827, by violent reproaches addressed to him before the consular body at a state audience, and by striking him in the face with his fan. Such an outrage was not to be endured. The consul was withdrawn, and his departure was followed by the seizure of the French *concessions* near Bona, and the destruction of the buildings there and of the port of La Calle. The Dey then declared war against France, and thus submitted the fate of Algeria to the chances of a contest against one of the chief European powers. A French squadron drove the Algerine fleet under the guns of Algiers, and defeated an attempt to emerge from the port. The French sovereign, Charles X., had become very unpopular from his repressive political system, and his eager desire to turn attention from home affairs by a 'spirited foreign policy' on the southern coast of the Mediterranean was not well seconded in the Chamber of Deputies, where

the strong *bourgeois* party seemed more anxious for financial economy than for national honour. A blockade of Algiers was maintained, but the year 1828 passed away without any other demonstration against the enemy. In June 1829 three small French craft of the blockading fleet were cast ashore by a heavy sea, and some scores of troops and sailors were massacred by a host of Arabs. The French Government, still unwilling to proceed to extremities, sent envoys to the Dey, proposing moderate terms of peace in August 1829, and were met by Hussein with words of defiance. One of the French vessels which bore the negotiators was fired on by the Algerines as she left the port, in spite of the flag of truce flying at the masthead, and this outrage, which the Dey hastened to disclaim by dismissing the commander at the Mole batteries and giving the gunners the bastinado, rendered to the French Government the service of arousing an unanimous public cry for strong measures against the foe.

In May 1830 a fleet of 11 ships of the line, 24 frigates, 41 smaller craft, and 357 transports, carrying 27,000 sailors, 37,600 soldiers, and nearly 4000 horses, set sail from Toulon under the command of Admiral Duperré, a man who had risen to the highest grade from that of a sailor before the mast. Lieutenant-General Bourmont was in charge of the troops, having under him the engineer Valazé, who in the Peninsular War had served against the Spaniards at the siege of Saragossa; five future marshals of France—Baraguey d'Hilliers, Vaillant, Pélissier, MacMahon and Magnan—and other men then or afterwards famous, including Lamoricière and Changarnier. The naval officers included Villaret-Joyeuse; Hugon, who had recently fought at Navarino, and Dumanoir, a combatant at Trafalgar. The army comprised 16 regiments of light infantry, a few squadrons of chasseurs, and 183 field guns and siege cannon. The warfare destined to end in the conquest of Algeria was about to begin. It is

impossible to give here a detailed account of a complex struggle which extended over more than thirty years, forming a school of warfare for officers who, as St Arnaud, MacMahon, Canrobert, Martimprey and Pélissier, were to rise to distinction in other scenes of contest. The French people and government had no just idea of the formidable task which was being undertaken. They knew little of the country and the inhabitants; they would have been amazed if any prophet of evil had declared that they were going to spend 150 millions sterling in acquiring a new colony, or, rather, a fresh province of France; and that, in the work of subduing the interior, after the occupation of the coast, the history of Algeria was to become, for a long course of years, on the French part, one of 'stupidly brutal camp rule, repudiation of sacred engagements, inhuman massacres of unoffending natives of both sexes and all ages, violence without judgment, and severity without reason.'* There was a large display of incompetence in commanders and governors, and a grievous absence of the insight, justice and conciliatory temper which would have done more in four years to win over the people to a foreign sway than martial severity, military rule, and intolerance effected in forty. There were, of course—as was inevitable in a contest during which France sent her best troops and commanders into the field—brilliant instances of French valour in action, of dash, determination and energy in waging a wearisome contest against a foe who, in guerrilla warfare, resisted with splendid courage and resolution. Great tactical and strategical skill was displayed by Bugeaud and some other generals, but the real hero of the sanguinary conflict was Abd-el-Kadr, one of the noblest characters in modern history, a model of the highest form of Moslem chivalry, a man to whom no higher praise can be given than that he was a worthy peer of

* Mr Stanley Lane-Poole's *The Barbary Corsairs.*

Saladin, the antagonist of *Cœur de Lion*, and of Schamyl, the hero of the Caucasus against Russia. This illustrious man combined in his person and character all the virtues of the old Arabs, with some of the best results of modern civilisation.

On June 13th, after some delay from stormy weather, the great armament appeared off Algiers, where Hussein had gathered large means of resistance, with the help of his dependants, the Beys of Oran, Constantine and Tittery. The rulers of Morocco, Tunis and Tripoli, with protestations of friendship for the Dey of Algiers, and of belief in his success, remained neutral. Instead of attacking the city of Algiers from the sea, as the enemy expected, the French troops were disembarked five leagues to the west, on the peninsula of Sidi-Ferruch, between two deep bays well suited for the anchorage of the fleet. No resistance was made to the landing, as the brave but incapable general of Hussein's forces, his son-in-law Ibrahim, had concentrated his men, numbering over 40,000, on the coast to the east of the city. The French newspapers had for some weeks indicated Sidi-Ferruch as the intended place of disembarkation, but the Algerines regarded this statement as a *ruse de guerre*. On June 19th about 35,000 of the enemy—mounted men armed with muskets—attacked the French entrenched position with much vigour, but they were bravely met, and Bourmont's counter assault on their camp was successful. The enemy were driven off in rout to Algiers, leaving behind a supply of provisions very welcome to men who had for some weeks eaten little but salted meat and biscuit. In the city an excited mob, on news of the defeat, were clamouring for the Dey's deposition and death. Hussein, safe in his citadel palace, the Kasbah—an ancient fortress with a base a mile in length, 500 feet above the sea level, commanding the whole city—violently reproached his luckless commander, who was only saved from instant beheading by the inter-

vention of his wife, the Dey's daughter. He was then restored to his command, and assembled his troops, still in formidable numbers, under the walls. Bourmont was awaiting the arrival of slow-sailing transports with his heavy siege guns, and the Algerines, encouraged by a delay which they attributed to the severity of French losses in the recent battle, harassed their foe by constant attacks. On June 24th, on the arrival of the siege train, the march to Algiers began, and some sharp fighting took place on the road, with trouble arising from the rugged ground, the aloe hedges, the lack of guides and maps, the mirage in the Metidja Plain which counterfeited the sea and caused a wrongful change of course, the excessive heat and the lack of water. An enterprising foe, with hosts of mounted men, might have ended the campaign by the destruction of the invaders, but there was no general attack, and on June 29th the French army mounted the heights commanding the rear of Algiers, and beheld on the horizon their fleet moving on for the attack by sea.

The defences of the city, on the land side, were by no means strong, consisting of a single wall with several detached forts. Only once, in 1541, had the place been attacked in that quarter, and then the forces of Charles V., commanded by the emperor in person, had utterly failed. The French troops, under a constant fire, opened siege trenches and mounted guns, while the fleet made a diversion by a fire which destroyed some of the batteries on the sea face. On July 4th the siege guns opened fire on the citadel and on the fort styled 'the Emperor's Castle,' from being on the site of Charles V.'s headquarters. The fire of that fort was silenced in a few hours, and signs of a breach began to appear. The garrison, composed of 1500 Janissaries, fled to the town in spite of the Dey's orders to stand their ground, and none appeared in the fort except three negroes who were trying to re-mount a displaced gun. One of these men was at once cut in two by a

cannon ball, another had his legs carried off, the third vanished through the central gate and closed it after him. In a few minutes a flame blazed out at the foot of the great tower, a huge column of smoke rose above the fort, a frightful explosion shook the ground and shot fragments of masonry into the air, leaving a very broad breach on the north-west front. The third negro had blown up the magazine. The ruins were still smoking when two soldiers, Lombard and Dumont, the foremost of a rush of men from the trenches, planted the French flag on the highest remaining point of the castle, under a heavy fire from the Kasbah and another fort. This fire was soon silenced by the siege guns, and Valazé, the engineer in command, began fresh trenches in front of the city. The place was by this time a scene of tumult. Many people fled into the country, and the contingents of troops from Oran and Constantine withdrew. The population loudly cried for surrender, in fear of an assault, and the Dey felt himself unable to resist the demand. The terms of capitulation involved power of withdrawal for the Dey, with his family and personal effects, to any place of his own selection; the free exercise of the Mohammedan religion; personal freedom for all the inhabitants, and the protection of their property, trade and industries. These points settled, the French army entered Algiers on July 5th. Perfect order reigned. The first care of the French general was to release the Christian slaves, 122 in number, one of whom, a native of Toulon, had been a captive since 1802. Of these miserable persons most were emaciated by their sufferings; some were mentally deranged, some were totally blind. The Dey was conveyed to Leghorn on a French frigate, sobbing as he turned a last look towards the Kasbah, and with his departure ended the sway of the deputies of the Sultan who had reigned in Algiers since 1517. Hussein's retirement was followed, on July 11th, by that of the Janissaries, about 5000 in number. The Cross had finally triumphed

over the Crescent in the chief corsair stronghold, and the waters of the Mediterranean were henceforth almost free from piratical rovers. The Janissaries meekly submitted to disarming, and the majority, conveyed at their own desire to Asia Minor, the place of their origin, gratefully received from the French general two months' pay, generously bestowed in order that they might not be landed in a destitute condition. The Dey's treasury yielded, in gold and silver, metal to the value of nearly two millions sterling, of which the greater part was despatched to France. The residue, worth five millions of francs, being current coin of the country, was retained for the use of the army. Great quantities of stores of various kinds also fell into the hands of the conquerors. Thus, in twenty days from the opening of the campaign, Moslem power in the city of Algiers had been laid prostrate; and, in the words of the Duc d'Orleans, alluding to the revolution of July which dethroned the last monarch of the elder Bourbon line, 'the gates of a new France were opened; and at the moment when it was for ever to cease to be the national flag, the old banner of Henri Quatre had once more led our soldiers to victory.'

Absolute ignorance and insolent disregard of the character and social conditions of a people are serious obstacles to those who desire to effect their subjugation. The utmost sagacity and caution, the most prudent measures of conciliation were needful in the new rulers at Algiers, and these were not forthcoming. Algeria was found divided into four beyliks or provinces—Algiers to the north, Constantine to the east, Oran to the west Tittery in the centre, the last alone not bearing the name of its capital, Medeah. There were no regular lines of communication—no roads or bridges connecting the four cities. The last vestiges of the old Roman roads had long been overgrown with trees and brushwood. Turkish rule, beyond the chief towns and a few strategical points,

had been an idea and not a fact, for a large part of the people, the Kabyles of the mountains and the Arabs of the Sahara district being wholly independent. The greater part of the people in the north and centre had been merely payers of tribute to the Turkish Government, and comprised a number of tribes, sub-divided again into *douairs*, or little groups of inseparable families. Each tribe was a kind of sovereign state, connected with the others only by ties of blood, language and religious faith. The sturdy, proud, defiant, brave Kabyles of the mountain region, dwelling in villages, each of which was a kind of republic under the rule of an elected council, had never thoroughly submitted to the Arabs of old time or to the Turks. The Turks were hated as conquerors and oppressors, and this feeling had existed for generations. Turks, Arabs and Kabyles had, however, one common sentiment—religious fanaticism—as a bond of union against European invaders, and the French were to discover, by long and bitter experience, that, with the conditions of warfare, the training of their soldiers and officers, equipment, sanitary measures, tactics and strategy must all be changed. Victories in the open field and the capture of towns, effective in European contests, were of no use for the attainment of predominant authority in Algeria. They had before them, though they knew it not, a daily struggle, incessantly renewed; a struggle in which, now and again, the extermination of the people could alone assure a hold of the land.

Bourmont, now become 'Marshal,' made an expedition through the plain called the Metidja towards Blida, a town at the foot of the mountains to the south. During the march of 35 miles over a region then dried up by the summer heat no open resistance was encountered, but all stragglers were pitilessly massacred and mutilated by the people. Masses of Arabs and Kabyles came down from the hills in threatening array, and when the roll was called, on the return to the city, 80 officers and men were missing.

The French commander afterwards learned that this hostile attitude was due to the instigation of the Bey of Tittery, who had spread the story that the French were coming to carry off or destroy the crops, and to make slaves of the people. The Marshal then resolved to take possession of the two chief towns on the coast, Bona and Oran. A small body of troops despatched by sea, under General de Damrémont, arrived at Bona on August 2nd and found it to be a decayed place of less than 2000 inhabitants, with ruined walls, and only the Kasbah or citadel, some hundreds of yards away, in a state of defence. The French commander had only time to restore the works, erect two redoubts, and repulse some attacks of the Arabs from the interior, when he was suddenly recalled with his men to Algiers by one of the many capricious changes of plan which did so much to discredit French power in the eyes of the natives during the long course of warfare. Oran was an important place, from its position near the Straits of Gibraltar, its strong fortifications and its fine, safe anchorage. The Bey, an old man named Hassan, requested Bourmont to send troops to occupy the town and the works in order to secure the place against the Arabs of the neighbourhood, who were beginning to stir. The French Marshal sent one of his sons to treat for terms of surrender, and meanwhile a French captain of one of the men-of-war landed marines and seized the fort commanding the roadstead. A French regiment was despatched, but at once recalled, in consequence of Bourmont's desire to keep his forces together. He had just received from France the news of the Revolution which had dethroned Charles X. and appointed Louis-Philippe, Duke of Orleans, 'Lieutenant-General of the Kingdom.' The new Government made an end of Bourmont's difficulties in replacing him by General Clausel, a man who had won great distinction in the Peninsular War as the antagonist of Wellington at Salamanca after Marmont's disablement. On

that occasion Clausel had re-formed the troops with much skill and resolution, renewed the battle with some success, and, on final defeat, had retired swiftly and in good order.

The new commander was not destined to heighten his military reputation on the soil of Algeria. His first work was to reorganise the army, and then, with the aid of a council composed of functionaries of the old Empire whom he had brought with him from France, he applied the French system of centralised rule to the new territory, and issued numerous decrees concerning judicial, financial and general administration without any regard to existing conditions and old usages. He was quickly called to other work by a ferment of the chiefs and tribes to the south. The Bey of Tittery, a fanatical Mussulman, had united several tribes usually at war with each other, and directed them against Algiers. Clausel promptly resolved to attack him in his own capital, Medeah, and formed a column of 8000 men, among whom were seen, for the first time in the history of the French army, native troops in the ranks. These were some Kabyles, who had lately entered the service from the tribe of the Zouaouas. They were the origin of the famous light infantry styled Zouaves. On the staff was a young Mameluke, recently arrived from Tunis, a man named Yusuf, who was to rise high in French esteem and attain the rank of general. The army left Algiers on November 17th 1830, and entered Blidah, which was found deserted, on the following day. The march to Medeah brought some severe fighting in the hill country, with the storming of a strong position in which the first officer who reached the summit was an aide-de-camp named MacMahon, afterwards Marshal and President of the third French Republic. On the 22nd, Medeah was entered without resistance, a new Bey was set up, and Clausel returned to Algiers, leaving a small garrison in the captured town. This was soon withdrawn,

in lack of reinforcements from France, and the belief of the people in French ability to conquer the country was again weakened. The new Home Government did not appear to know what to do with Algeria, and their rejection of a treaty concluded by Clausel with the Bey of Tunis, on terms very favourable for France, caused complaints on his part which ended in his recall.

During the following five years, under a succession of governors, the administration of Algeria, and the military operations, apart from events soon to be related, comprised the occupation of the Metidja Plain and the towns of Oran, Bona, Mostaganem and Bougie; the institution of the *Bureaux Arabes*, headed by French officers who had learned the language of the country, for intervention between the central government and the natives; and the creation of the corps of Zouaves. These soldiers, clad in a distinctive dress—the red fez, short jacket and wide, red Turkish trousers—were at first all warlike mountaineers of the country. Their first colonels were Lamoricière and Cavaignac, under whom they won great distinction in conflict with the Arabs of the south. In course of time the regiments included adventurers from many European countries, eager to serve in a corps renowned for headlong courage in attack, boldness and self-reliance in face of every peril. The native element grew less and less, and after the year 1840 the Zouaves became almost wholly French troops, wearing the native uniform as first adopted, and recruited from veterans of the infantry of the line distinguished by fine physical qualities and tried courage. The African troops enrolled as 'Algerian Tirailleurs,' usually called 'Turcos,' became in time, like the Zouaves, a part of the regular French army.

In 1833 Abd-el-Kadr came to the front in Algeria. This illustrious man, born in the province of Oran in 1807, son of a Marabout, or Moslem priest, of great sanctity, showed a precocious ability, and was early in life famous

for his learning in the Koran and his skill as an expositor. At seventeen years of age he was conspicuous for agility and strength, and for unrivalled skill in horsemanship. Somewhat below the middle height, with a compact symmetrical and bony figure, and a broad, deep chest, he had a frame well suited for a life of activity and endurance. His countenance was remarkable for expressive beauty in a massive white brow, a rather aquiline nose, a small, delicate mouth, with finely chiselled, somewhat compressed lips, thin, dark chestnut beard and slight moustache. The large, dark hazel eyes had, in repose, a soft melancholy look, changed by excitement to the radiance of genius, intellect and valour. His hands and feet were of exquisite form, and his appearance, mounted, in a dress of fine white linen devoid of all ornament in embroidery or gold, on a jet-black steed, had a rare charm. Carefully trained by an admirable father, a man regarded with boundless respect, affection and confidence by the Arabs of Oran, Abd-el-Kadr, of the purest morals, was married young, according to Moslem usage and the precept of the Koran. At fifteen years of age he found a wife in his cousin, Leila Heira, a girl remarkable for physical beauty and moral worth. The popularity of both father and son aroused the jealousy of Hussein Bey, the Governor of Oran, and they were made prisoners of State for two years. On release, they made the pilgrimage to Mecca, and Abd-el-Kadr, on his return, had thus the distinction, at an early age, of becoming a Haj or Meccan devotee. Some time was then passed in religious seclusion and study, as if he had renounced all worldly aspirations. The jealousy of the Dey of Algiers, who regarded him as a man politically dangerous from his popularity, compelled a flight to Egypt, and on his return, in 1831, at the age of twenty-four, Abd-el-Kadr found his country partly in the hands of French invaders. The deposition of the Bey of Oran caused the Arabs of the province to elect his father as their ruler, but the sire

was allowed to transfer the dignity to the son, under whom he served in the field against the French. From the first the young Emir was distinguished as a leader and ruler of men. His daring courage inspired his followers to rare heroism against a foe far superior in discipline and weapons. His marvellous eloquence stirred all hearers to rally round the standard of the 'Djehad' or holy war against the infidel assailants of the land. His ruthless vigour crushed all opposition among chieftains jealous of his exaltation to power and his growing fame. In conflicts with the French, at the outset of his warlike career, the great Arab leader, often repulsed, was so far successful, and gained so large a following among the tribes that, in 1834, the French general Desmichels recognised his authority as Emir of Maskara, his native place, in a regular treaty. An interval of peace was employed by Abd-el-Kadr in organising his forces for contests which he foresaw, and in fierce fighting with chiefs who strove to overthrow his power.

A new French Governor, Count D'Erlon, was astounded by the terms of a secret treaty concluded by Desmichels with the Arab ruler, and on his representations at home, Desmichels was recalled from Oran. Abd-el-Kadr was soon involved in hostilities with the French ruler, and in June 1835 he gained one of his chief successes at the River Makta, or Masca. A French column, under General Trezel, composed of 5000 infantry and a regiment of Chasseurs d'Afrique, with four mountain guns, was furiously attacked by mounted Arabs in front and flank, and thrown into confusion for a time. Order was, with much difficulty, restored, and the French passed a quiet night, encamped in a solid square formation. In the morning, Abd-el-Kadr, whose rearguard only had fought on the previous day, came up with his main body, occupied the French line of retreat, caught Trezel and his men in a defile at mid-day, and broke the force to

pieces. The Arab leader, a man who abhorred cruelty, was horrified on beholding, as he rode through the pass at midnight, a pyramid composed of hundreds of French heads piled up by his savage followers.

This disaster caused the recall of D'Erlon and Trezel, and Clausel, with the title of 'Marshal,' appeared as the new Governor of Algeria. In August 1835 he assumed office at Algiers with a proclamation of boastful words which were not destined to find fulfilment in military deeds. Abd-el-Kadr's men swept the Metidja Plain clear of all the French colonists, blockaded Algiers, and reduced the garrison of Oran to the greatest straits. On November 21st 1835 Clausel went to Oran, and took the field with an army of 12,000 men. To meet this force, the Emir had 8000 cavalry, 2000 foot, and four guns, and drew up his men with rare skill in a position to cover Maskara, the centre of his power. He could not, however, give his levies the steadiness of trained troops, nor enable them to meet firmly the discharge of rockets and shells. His army was soundly beaten, and melted away, and Clausel entered Maskara early in December. The indomitable Arab chieftain—towering above misfortune, great in disaster, dauntless where all desponded, evoking victory for his banners from the depths of humiliation and defeat—was soon again in the field at the head of 6000 cavalry, to attack and harass the French column, as, amid rain and tempest, and benumbed with cold, it quitted Maskara, by orders of which none but the general could understand the reason, on the march for Tlemcen, which was entered in January 1836. Clausel then excited the fury of the Arabs by wringing, with threats, blows, and even torture, the sum of 100,000 francs, 'as a proof of their sincerity,' from chieftains who came in to aid his cause. Abd-el-Kadr was at once summoned to their assistance, and the French general, on his advance to the River Tafna, was defeated and driven back with considerable loss, after ten days' fighting, during

which his enemy, attempting no regular formations, overcame French discipline and courage by the seizure and defence of every point of vantage presented by hills and ravines, rocks and rivers. Returning to Oran, harassed by the Arab leader to its very gates, Clausel took ship for Algiers, where he stated in a proclamation that the war was over, and that 'Abd-el-Kadr, utterly beaten and discomfited, had fled to the Sahara.' If this were so, it was strange that in April, during the Marshal's brief absence in France, the Arab leader swept down on General D'Arlanges, near the Tafna, with masses of Arabs and Kabyles, and forced the withdrawal of his army of 3000 infantry with eight pieces of artillery. In order to collect his force, Abd-el-Kadr had been for weeks traversing the mountains, summoning, preaching and haranguing for toilsome days and sleepless nights, arousing the enthusiasm of the hillmen to frenzy by his fiery eloquence, and animating them to the point of closing with the enemy's infantry, sweeping through their ranks, and rushing up to the cannon's mouth. In June, General Bugeaud landed at the mouth of the Tafna with three fresh regiments, and the Arab chief was completely defeated in a long and desperate battle. Resorting again to guerrilla warfare, with movements of ceaseless activity in every direction, he intercepted letters, attacked convoys, isolated the foe in scattered posts, and reduced the French at Oran, Tlemcen and other points to extremities for food.

In November 1836 Clausel, who had returned to his post eager to re-gild his tarnished reputation, resolved to strike a heavy blow in the eastern province. Hadj Ahmad, an old Turk who had formerly been a lieutenant of the Dey of Algiers, and had, on his downfall, set himself up as a Pasha under the Sultan of Turkey, was in possession of the city of Constantine. This place, the Cirta of old Roman days in Numidia, the capital of Syphax and of Masinissa and his successors, had been found 'a hard nut

to crack' by the conquerors in the Jugurthine War. Clausel's adviser, Yusuf, assured him that the city would open its gates on the first appearance of a French force, and Clausel, rashly trusting to this assertion, set off on his march with barely 7000 men, with no siege train, and only 14 mountain guns. The troops carried rations for only fifteen days, half taken in their own haversacks. The weather was a variety of storms of rain, tempestuous winds, and icy cold on the higher ground. The mountain streams which had to be traversed were swollen into raging torrents; the paths were broken away; the soldiers were compelled to bivouack without fire to cook their food. After thirteen days of toil and trouble, the French arrived before Constantine, the key of eastern Algeria; a military centre; a political, religious and literary capital; a place of trade situated in the middle of a fertile country; at once a fortress and a great depôt of corn stored away in numerous caves. This famous stronghold is situated on a quadrilateral plateau, rising to a height of about 2000 feet on the north-east, and over 1600 on the south-west. On all sides but one are deep, wide ravines, with peaked rocks, at the foot of which runs the rapid river Rummel, sometimes dashing down in cascades, sometimes burying its waters in huge caverns, to emerge again further on. On the south side alone is there any natural approach, where the rocky peninsula is joined by an isthmus to the main country; on the west, the ravine is crossed by the beautiful old Moorish bridge, El Kantarah. The French Marshal, placing his troops on hills to the south and east, looked in vain for any signal of submission. The enemy meant to fight, not to surrender. The Pasha, Hadj Ahmad, was in the open country, heading a large cavalry force; his chief officer, inside the city, defied attack. Half the French force was either toiling in the rear or down with sickness; but Clausel, with only 3000 effectives in hand,

felt it absolutely necessary, with starvation before him, to try the effect of immediate assault. Attacks on the isthmus side, and at the El Kantarah gate, utterly failed under a murderous fire, and the order for retreat was then given. A small rearguard was bravely commanded by Changarnier, then a major, and the army made its way back to Bona, with a loss of about 2000 men killed, wounded, dead of disease and fatigue, or sick, in a campaign of three weeks' duration. Many unfortunate men, unable to keep up with the column, and perforce abandoned, were pitilessly slain by the pursuing Arabs.

The prompt recall of Clausel in February 1837 brought General Damrémont as his successor. The time was critical for the fortunes of France in Algeria. The disastrous failure at Constantine was followed by a swoop of Abd-el-Kadr, at the head of his Arabs and Kabyles, on the Metidja plain, sacking and burning the French colonial establishments, and carrying dismay to the gates of Algiers. It was at this time that Bugeaud, heading 12,000 men, made with the Arab chieftain the famous Treaty of the Tafna, by which the Emir, acknowledging the sovereignty of France, was granted the administration of the provinces of Oran and Tittery, and of part of the province of Algiers, with the right of buying powder, sulphur and arms in France, and the undertaking, on his part, to re-provision the French army with large supplies of wheat and barley and 5000 head of oxen. The French Government held this arrangement to be a high stroke of policy, converting an enemy into an ally. The French people regarded it as a humiliating surrender of French territory to a rival power. It was the culminating point of Abd-el-Kadr's career, and he proceeded to crush several Arab opponents, and force them into allegiance to himself as the head of a new great Arab state which he hoped to consolidate, with its capital at Tekedemt, an old

Roman town sixty miles south-east of Oran. During the two following years, 1838 and 1839, the Emir was engaged in the work of a statesman, legislator, administrator and reformer, displaying wonderful activity, enterprise, vigour and intellectual power as the founder of an empire which was not destined to long survive its birth. After the Tafna Treaty he had received a magnificent present of arms from Louis Philippe, King of the French, and, as absolute sovereign of two-thirds of Algeria, as a man who had subdued, either by arms or by persuasive eloquence, the hardy, high-spirited Kabyles, he stood high in the estimation of his fellow Moslem rulers, in Morocco and Egypt, Tripoli and Tunis, and of the Ulemahs of Alexandria and Mecca, who watched with joy, and with ardent expectation of yet higher things, the career of one who seemed destined to revive the pristine glories of Islam.

It was absolutely needful for the French Government to possess Constantine. Abd-el-Kadr, a regular subscriber to the French journals, had the debates in the Chambers interpreted to him, and he found the Liberal party cordially approving the principle laid down by their chief orator, M. Dupin, who denounced Algeria as a fatal legacy of the Restoration, a country which ought to be abandoned, 'if,' as he cried, 'we would not see our last man, and our last sou, swallowed up.' General Damrémont, the successor of Clausel, was a man of wide experience in Algerian warfare, from service in the country since 1831, and as a man of firm, energetic and resolute character, full of forethought for the welfare of his troops, he possessed the confidence of the army. No means that might assure success was neglected. The army to march against the fortress city was composed of 10,000 infantry, with 16 field guns, a siege train of 17 heavy cannon, and an ample ammunition train. General Valée, senior in rank to Damrémont, but very willing to serve under him,

was in charge of the artillery, taking with him ten companies of engineers. One brigade of the foot soldiers was composed of Zouaves, under the Duc de Nemours, a son of Louis Philippe. On October 1st 1837 the expedition left Bona, and arrived, in six days' march, at the Rummel. The walls of Constantine were covered with men waving great crimson flags, the Arab women on the flat roofs of the houses uttered yells of defiance. A summons to surrender was met with the expressed resolve to perish in defence of the town. In six days a practicable breach was made at the isthmus side of the walls, and Damrémont, on the morning of October 12th, came to reconnoitre. Venturing too near, he was shot dead by one of the enemy's sharpshooters at the moment when the Duc de Nemours was protesting against his rashness. General Valée, succeeding to the command, kept up a fierce bombardment throughout the day, and posted his columns of attack during the night, each composed of 500 men, with a reserve of 400. The first column, chiefly of Zouaves, was led by Colonel Lamoricière. The Zouaves, fifty by fifty, made the first rush: an inner wall was blown down by an explosion from the inside, burying many of the assailants, but opening a way for the rest. The second column went on at a run, but was checked by a second and more fatal explosion, and the cry of 'Retire! the whole ground is mined,' had arisen, when a young Captain St Arnaud (afterwards commander in the Crimea) dashed to the front, rallied the men, and led them on. The place was only taken after fierce street fighting, and there was a scene of plunder for three days before order was restored. Constantine has now become a French city, with relics of its Arab appearance among the squares and boulevards, public gardens, cafés and kiosks. Valée became a Marshal of France, and Governor-General of Algeria in December 1837. The capture of Constantine had given the French a firm hold on the eastern province named

therefrom, and had ended Turkish power in Algeria, as distinguished from that of Abd-el-Kadr and his Arabs and Kabyles.

After vain negotiations between the Governor-General and Abd-el-Kadr concerning the territorial rights of the latter under the Tafna Treaty, the former, Marshal Valée, sent a column, under the Duke of Orleans, from Milah, in the province of Constantine, to march over the disputed ground to Algiers, as a demonstration of French power and an assertion of French rights. A passage was gained through the formidable pass called the 'Iron Gates,' in October 1839, by a simple process. The defile was one which 500 men could have held for ever against any force, but the Kabyle sheikhs were shown passports, bearing Abd-el-Kadr's seal, authorising the passage of French troops. The seal of the great Arab Emir had been forged. On November 1st Valée and the French prince made a triumphant entry into Algiers after this despicable piece of treachery, and were saluted as the heroes of the 'Iron Gates.' Abd-el-Kadr, then at Tekedemt, sent a reproachful and defiant letter to the French governor; called his men to arms, formally declared war, swept down on the plains, destroyed the French cantonments, agricultural establishments, and scattered outposts; slew many colonists, burnt the villages, and drove panic-stricken fugitives headlong into Algiers. Marshal Valée, strongly reinforced from France, soon headed 30,000 men, against about the same number of cavalry, regular and irregular, under his foe, who also had 6000 regular infantry. The French army showed its quality in April 1840 by storming, in the most gallant style, Abd-el-Kadr's entrenched positions among the hills, and forcing his retreat to Miliana. This great feat of arms was due largely to Lamoricière and his Zouaves, and to Changarnier with the 2nd Light Infantry. The tricolour waved on the highest summit of the Middle Atlas. The Emir then gave orders to his

Khalifas and chiefs to resume the harassing guerrilla warfare, and the French garrisons in Medeah and Miliana, which Valée had seized, were soon reduced to extremities of want. Abd-el-Kadr's swiftness of movement made him appear ubiquitous, and the prospect of conquering Algeria seemed as distant as ever, when, in February 1841, Bugeaud assumed the functions of Governor-General. A new era in the long contest was about to open.

Thomas Bugeaud, born in 1784 of a good family in Périgord, descended by his mother's side from Irish people who had emigrated to France in Stuart days, entered the army in 1804 as a big, athletic youth of twenty years, enlisting as a private in the Imperial Guard. He had much ability and little education. In 1806 he became sub-lieutenant for his valour at the battle of Pultusk in Poland, and in the Spanish campaigns he rose to the rank of colonel. As colonel he fought at Waterloo, and, disgraced after the fall of his master, withdrew to his paternal domains and devoted himself to the work of tillage. After the revolution of July, he entered the Chamber of Deputies, and also resumed service in the army as a general of brigade, in which capacity, in 1836, he defeated Abd-el-Kadr, as we have seen, at the battle of the Sikkah. When he assumed rule in Algeria, he was fifty-seven years of age, possessed of a constitution and frame fitted to endure any fatigue. One of the last of the great soldiers of the *Grande Armée*, Bugeaud had the imperious manner and decided air of one accustomed to command. He was well styled '*le père* Bugeaud' by the troops, who knew his devotion to their physical, intellectual and moral welfare—ever kind and friendly as he was, sharing their privations, and making his infantry officers go afoot with their men. It must be told, to his honour, that he was ever humane and considerate in his treatment of Arabs. When he took the supreme com-

mand, with 100,000 men at his disposal, he at once changed the faulty method of encountering the foe. He had carefully studied strategy and tactics, and well understood the task before him. He knew that the war must be conducted on offensive principles, without respite for the enemy. It was a nation in arms, and no mere army, that had to be subdued. His forces were at once organised in many small, compact columns, each composed of a few infantry battalions and two cavalry squadrons, with a little transport train of mules and camels and two mountain shell guns. Picked men only, acclimatised and accustomed to hard toil, were employed, and they carried nothing but their muskets and ammunition, with a little food. The columns were placed under the command of such energetic spirits as Cavaignac and Changarnier, Canrobert and Pélissier, Lamoricière and Bedeau, St Arnaud and the Duc d'Aumale.

Against such a leader, such followers and such a system, even the able and heroic Abd-el-Kadr was to become helpless in the end. During 1841, and the two following years, the coast places were linked together by a chain of armed posts; the command of the Tell was ensured by the occupation of Medeah and Mascara, Tlemcen, Takedemt, Miliana, and other towns. The provinces of Algiers and Tittery were in the hands of the French. Oran was half subdued; Constantine was at peace from the Arabs. The mountain tribes to the south, towards the Sahara, were then assailed in their fastnesses by the movable columns, which, in combined operations, were ever in touch with each other. The Duc d'Aumale, by a daring stroke at the head of a few hundred horsemen, in May 1843, broke up Abd-el-Kadr's movable town called the *smalah*, a great collection of tents containing his family, followers and possessions, a nomadic horde of many thousands of persons, including armourers, saddlers, tailors and smiths, for the supply of equipments for his

mounted warriors. Four thousand prisoners were taken with the Emir's chief functionaries, a great treasure, and all the tents, standards and stores. The country was overspread with fugitives, driving a few cattle before them Abd-el-Kadr, his wife and his mother, barely escaped. A deadly blow at his power had been struck. His adherents began to fall away, and he was driven to the western borders of the country. Bugeaud now became Marshal, and the Duc d'Aumale, Lamoricière and Changarnier were made 'Generals of Division.'

The defeated Emir sought refuge in Morocco, and obtained help from the ruler, Abd-er-rhaman, a devout Mussulman. In 1843 and 1844 the province of Oran was invaded, and some success against French troops was won by the Emir, but this only made Bugeaud resolve on dealing a decisive blow. Hostilities against Morocco were undertaken. The Prince de Joinville, with a French squadron, bombarded Tangier and Mogador, completely destroying the works at the latter important town. Bugeaud, on August 14th 1844, routed the Morocco army, under Ābd-er-rhaman's son, at Isly, capturing many guns, a large quantity of small arms, and great war stores. The ruler of Morocco then made peace on condition of his expelling Abd-el-Kadr from his territory, but this was an undertaking hard to fulfil, and the indefatigable Emir, again in arms early in 1845, aroused the Arabs to fresh warfare. An internecine strife took place between the French and the mountaineers in the effort to subdue the tribes. It was at this time that the horrible affair at the caves of the Dahra occurred. The French commanders and troops, warring with uncivilised men, and irritated by the ceaseless resistance offered, were giving a barbarous character to the struggle. In the great plain of the Dahra, extending from Tenes and Orleansville to the right bank of the River Cheliff, are scattered hills, two of which are united by a bridge of rock about 110

yards in width, containing great caves where the Arabs sought refuge as a base of operations for their raids on colonists or attacks on French posts. Colonel Pélissier, in charge of troops operating in that region against a revolted tribe, drove the warriors to the caves, with their wives, families and herds, and there beleaguered them. On two occasions his Arab envoy, seeking to bring the people to terms, was fired on and killed. Fruitless negotiations, continuing through the day, took place, and afterwards a third envoy was seized by the Arabs and slain, the French troops clearly hearing the cries of the victim. The French commander then resolved to force out the foe by a novel process. Vast quantities of wood were cut, formed into fagots, and thrown or let down opposite the entrances to the caves. These fagots, mingled with straw, were constantly dragged inside by the Arabs, in spite of the fire of the French sharpshooters. The enemy at last ceased to meddle with the growing pile of bundles of brushwood, and the mouths of the caves were blocked up. Fireworks were then flung down to kindle the inflammable matter, and the blaze was fed by the soldiers during the day. Cries and groans and gunshots could be heard from within, and negotiations were then resumed. When these were vain, the fire was re-kindled by the French, and maintained through the night, the wind driving the flames and smoke inside the caverns. The flame rose to the summit of the rocky bridge, amid the dull groans of men and beasts, the cracking sound of rocks, as they crumbled beneath the intense heat, and a continual discharge of firearms. In the morning, all was still. When the entrances to the caves were cleared on the extinction of the fire, nearly 600 corpses were found outside; the interior displayed many more bodies heaped one on the other. About sixty people of the tribe were found alive, and of these twenty died from the injuries received. It is alleged,

in Pélissier's defence, that he did not intend to cause any loss of life, believing that there was an issue for the smoke inside the caves. It is certain that he never ceased to deplore the event, which intensified Arab hatred, caused new revolts, and gave some success to Abd-el-Kadr's last efforts. A French cavalry force of over 400 men was utterly destroyed, 200 infantry were soon afterwards compelled to surrender.

The end of the Arab hero's warlike career was at hand. Bugeaud, on his return from a visit to France, brought reinforcements raising the army of Algiers to 115,000 men, and 14 detached columns were set to work in the method above described, carrying fire and sword into every part of the revolted districts. It was after Bugeaud's final return to France and the assumption of rule by the Duc d'Aumale that Abd-el-Kadr, seeing the hopelessness of further efforts, and unwilling to prolong the misery of the people in arms, made his submission to Lamoricière, on the condition of being allowed to retire to Alexandria or to St Jean d'Acre, in order that he might end his days at Mecca. These terms were ratified by D'Aumale, and at once violated by the execrable government of Louis Philippe, now (in December 1847) very near the day of doom. The fallen Arab monarch was made a prisoner at Toulon, and thence removed first to Pau and then to Amboise. He was attended by some scores of the people of his *smalah*, all living in simple and even penurious style, the Emir's sole property being now limited to a few thousands of francs, obtained by the sale of his horses. His health suffered from confinement, and the prolongation of his life was probably due to the generosity of Louis Napoleon, who, in 1852, at the close of his term as Prince-President, set him free to go whither he would, except to Algeria, with a life-pension equivalent to £4000 a year. Living in succession at Broussa, in Asia Minor, at Constantinople and at Damascus, Abd-el-Kadr saved the lives,

at this last city, of many thousands of Christians by his bold intervention during the massacres of 1860, a service recognised by Napoleon III. in the conferring of the Grand Cross of the Legion of Honour. In 1865 he visited Paris, and made a brief stay in England, and was at the Paris Exhibition in 1867. He ended his noble life at Damascus in May 1883.

We need not pursue much further the story of Algeria and France. There were many revolts of the irrepressible Kabyles, dealt with in succession, from 1849 till 1870, by Pélissier and Canrobert, St Arnaud and MacMahon. In 1865 the Emperor (Louis Napoleon) visited Algeria, and issued a proclamation to the turbulent tribes, with promises to maintain their nationality, and leave them in quiet possession of their territory. The downfall of the Second Empire in 1870 caused another great revolt, on the withdrawal of a large part of the garrison of Algeria for service in France against German invaders. On the suppression of this outbreak a wise change of government was made in the substitution of civil rule, with prefects in the three departments—Algiers, Oran and Constantine—for the military domination which had hitherto prevailed. The French occupation has caused great progress in the country. Much land, formerly desert from natural reasons, or devastated by warfare, has been converted into fertile ground, producing wheat, vines, vegetables and tobacco. There is a growing production of silk and wine, and the exports include cork and alfa or esparto grass. In the Sahara districts, the sinking of artesian wells has increased the number of oases, with large numbers of palms and fruit trees of various kinds. Thousands of miles of road have been made, connecting the three departments with the caravan routes leading first to Tuat and Insalah, and thence to the Sudan and Timbuktu. Over 2000 miles of railway are open, with 5000 miles of telegraph line, and 510 post offices. The population now includes about

320,000 French and 450,000 persons of other foreign nations out of a total of nearly four and a half millions. The country, as we have stated, is regarded as a portion of France rather than as a colony in the proper sense, and each of the three departments sends one senator and two deputies to the National Assembly. The *Bureaux Arabes*, mediating between the sheikhs or native chiefs and the Government authorities, do useful work in protecting the civil and religious interests of the Arabs and of the colonists in their relations with the natives. The Mohammedan worship is supported by the State, as also that of the Jews, who are now regarded as French citizens.

Tunis, in the prosperous days of the Barbary corsairs, was as much an object of dread as Algiers to the peaceful traders of the Mediterranean. Brought under Ottoman power in 1575, it came, in the seventeenth century, under the rule of a hereditary Bey, whose family was in power for a century, enlarging their borders by land conquests, and gaining great wealth by piracy directed against Christian nations. The arrogance of the rulers, and the servile submission of the representatives of great nations, were beyond measure. Bribes for immunity of vessels from attack were extorted; consuls-general were forced to creep into the Bey's presence under a wooden bar. Austria, Denmark, Venice, Spain, and the United States, in the latter part of the eighteenth century, were all subservient to the Bey for the sake of their commerce, meekly paying tribute to a man whose power could easily have been destroyed. In 1816, Lord Exmouth, after his first visit to Algiers, appeared with his fleet off the coast by Tunis, and conducted his negotiations with firmness, compelling the Bey, Mahmud, to sign a treaty abolishing Christian slavery throughout his dominions. Piracy did not, however, cease, and Sweden, in 1827, was still paying blackmail to the Bey in the form of a large number of cannon. Under rulers succeeding Mahmud, men of an enlightened

character, devoted to reform in the spirit of Mohammed Ali of Egypt, great progress was made, and there was no excuse whatever for the wanton aggression made by France in 1881. The Republican Government, aiming at extension of French territory in Northern Africa, picked a quarrel with the Bey on pretence of inroads made by border tribes on Algerian territory. Turkey was at that time depressed in influence and power through the Russian War of 1877-78, and the British Foreign Office, headed by Lord Granville, and the ministries of other powers, made no sign of effective opposition. The country was invaded by French troops, and the Bey was forced to sign a treaty for a French 'protectorate.' A revolt in the south was finally suppressed by the invaders, after a period of anarchy, with merciless rigour, and the whole transaction was described by M. Henri de Rochefort as 'a robbery aggravated by murder.' France has thereby increased her influence in the Mediterranean by obtaining the use of several safe harbours, and has gained a valuable naval position at Bizerta, where a complete arsenal, two dry docks and a breakwater are to be constructed. The Republic thus added, in the occupation of Tunis, about 51,000 square miles to her African territory, under the control of a 'Minister-Resident,' supported by an army of 11,000 men. Most of the people are Bedouin Arabs and Kabyles in a total population of one and three-quarter millions.

Tripoli, a tributary province of the Ottoman empire, easternmost of the Barbary States, with an area vaguely estimated at nearly 400,000 square miles, and a population—mainly Berbers and Moors, with a few thousands each of Arabs and Maltese, and about 25,000 Jews—in all about one and a quarter millions, has little recent history of interest or importance. Occupied by Spain for a few years after 1510; then transferred to the Knights of St John, recently expelled from Rhodes by the Turks; vacated by them in 1551, on the attack of the Turkish admiral Sinan, the city became,

like Algiers and Tunis, a stronghold of corsairs preying on Mediterranean trade. Early in the eighteenth century, the Turkish Pasha, assuming the title of Bey, became in a measure independent of the Sultan. In 1800 the Tripolitan ruler demanded tribute from the United States, then a newly-risen power, with an extensive commerce but few ships of war. When no notice was taken of this request, the Bey, in May 1801, declared war by chopping down the flag-staff of the American Consulate. Two years, however, passed away before any vigorous action on the part of the United States. Then a squadron assembled at Gibraltar under Commodore Preble, and Tripoli was blockaded by the *Philadelphia*, a 36-gun frigate, and another vessel. The coast was very dangerous from reefs and shoals, currents, squalls and bad anchorage, and in October 1803, the *Philadelphia*, in chasing a ship making for the port, struck on a reef. The vessel was soon attacked by gunboats, and, helpless from her position, was forced to surrender, the captain having previously drowned the magazines, scuttled the ship and choked the pumps. The ship was plundered by the enemy; the officers and men were robbed, and the crew imprisoned. The Tripolitans succeeded in getting the *Philadelphia* afloat and conveying her into port, with the recovery of all the guns and anchors. The American captain thus had the chagrin of seeing his ship, repaired and rearmed, lying fit for service off the town. Commodore Preble planned the destruction of the vessel, a work which was accomplished in gallant style, under the guns of the castle and other forts, and of many hostile gunboats, galleys and cruisers, by Lieutenant Decatur, and a body of only 70 men. The *Philadelphia* was set on fire and burnt, and Preble, in the autumn of 1804, with a squadron composed of the frigate *Constitution*, three brigs, three schooners, six gunboats, and two bomb vessels, made attacks, inflicting much damage. Operations with a combined land and naval

force brought the Bey to terms in June 1805, with the abandonment of tribute, and a guarantee of immunity for American vessels. In 1816, Lord Exmouth, as at Tunis, compelled the Bey to promise the abolition of Christian slavery. In 1835, during a period of civil war in Tripoli, the Sultan of Turkey regained supremacy and appointed a Pasha. Various fruitless rebellions took place at a later time. About 1850 a Mahdi, or Moslem Messiah, preaching austere and fanatical doctrine, made his appearance in the country, and founded the sect called the Senûsi, which has grown large in Northern Africa, and greatly influenced the Moslem population against Europeans and other 'infidels.'

Morocco, a great region in the north-west of Africa, with an area estimated at 314,000 square miles, and a population said to be about six millions, includes a Tell or fertile territory west of the Atlas Mountains; a district of steppes or tableland, with pasture; and a vague portion of Sahara desert. Much of the Atlas range and of the interior is yet unknown to Europeans. The inhabitants comprise the aboriginal Berbers or Kabyles, leading a semi-independent life in the hills; Arabs descended from the seventh century conquerors; many thousands of Jews, descendants of early colonists driven from Spain and Portugal; 'Moors' of mixed Arab and European, chiefly Spanish, race; large numbers of negroes brought into slavery from the Sudan; and a few thousand Europeans, mainly Spaniards, in the coast towns. Successively, in historical times, under the sway of the Romans, the Vandals, the Eastern (Byzantine) emperors, the Caliphs of Bagdad, and several independent Moslem rulers; and subject, in mediæval and early modern times, to ceaseless foreign and civil wars and revolutions, Morocco came at last, as a united empire or sultanate, under the rule of Muley (Mulái, or 'My Lord') Ismail, who held power from 1692 to 1727. The Morocco pirates were well known,

along with the other Barbary corsairs, the Salee rovers being specially notorious in later days. Europeans, at various times, have held places on the coast. Ceuta was in succession subject to the Genoese and the Portuguese, and has been since 1580 in Spanish possession, several times vainly besieged by the Moors. Melilla, Alhucemas, and Peñon de Velez, are three other Spanish *presidios* or fortified posts. Tangier, taken by the Portuguese in 1471, came to Charles II. as part of the dowry of his queen, Catharine of Braganza, but was given up in 1683 on account of the expense and the unhealthy climate. The warfare with France in connection with Abd-el-Kadr has been related; the decisive battle of Isly was fought on Morocco territory.

In 1859 Spain declared war against the Sherif or Sultan, Mulai-Mohamed, owing to a dispute concerning territory outside Ceuta claimed by the Spanish Government as reparation for attacks made on their settlements by mountain tribes. The work undertaken by the Spanish troops was somewhat arduous, in encountering stalwart, active Moors of extreme fanaticism, armed with long-barrelled flint muskets, capable of killing at 400 yards range, the enemy being also very strong in cavalry. The hardy, patient Spaniards, swift on foot in their light, rope-soled sandals, were effective with the bayonet, but had to rely chiefly on the use of artillery. At the outset of the campaign, while the Spaniards were still unprepared to take the field, Ceuta was beleaguered by a host of Moors. The prison-fortress, which was to be the Spanish base of operations, was barely defended by a hastily made line of redoubts thrown up across the isthmus connecting the narrow, rocky peninsula with the mainland. At the close of the year, 25,000 men were disembarked from Spain, under the supreme command of the famous soldier-politician Marshal O'Donnell, who combined in himself the offices of Prime Minister and

Minister of War. General Prim, another notable statesman and soldier of later Spanish history, was in charge of the reserve. During November 1859, the Spaniards maintained their lines of entrenchments at Ceuta. In December, amid incessant rains, many hundreds of men were carried off by cholera.

In the first days of 1860, O'Donnell advanced against Tetuan, about 35 miles due south along the coast. The vanguard, of 5000 men, under Prim, was followed by a corps of 10,000 under General Zabala, the whole preceded by engineers for the bridging of streams, protected by cavalry and field-guns. At 10 miles south of Tetuan, in an open valley hemmed in with heights, and showing the ruins of two small white buildings or 'castles'—*castillejos*, in Spanish—Prim came on the Moorish army. The Spanish hussars were severely handled in a brave, rash charge made into the thick of well-posted infantry. The general was then compelled, with four weak battalions, to sustain the attack of large numbers of horse and foot coming up in front and on his flanks. The Spanish leader made a gallant and skilful defence, and, on the arrival of two fresh battalions, with O'Donnell and his staff, a brilliant charge of bayonets against the scimitars of mounted Moors dispersed the foe. The victory of Castillejos, as the scene of action was named, opened up the road to Tetuan, and on January 17th 1860, the invaders, after some combats with the enemy, came in view of the city, shining snow-white on rising ground at the end of the valley. A fortnight was passed in building redoubts and awaiting a train of battering-guns, and the Moors had then about 40,000 men, under a brother of the Emperor's, collected for the defence of Tetuan. An entrenched camp covering the town, protected in front by a marsh, on the right flank by water or muddy ground, and on the left by rising ground with brushwood affording good cover to the

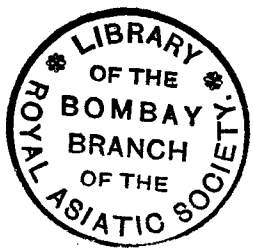
Moorish marksmen, was held by 30,000 men, and armed with many batteries of guns. On February 4th the right attack of this formidable position was entrusted to Prim, now commanding the second corps. The third corps assailed the left, and a new division, recently landed, was on the extreme right, threatening the left flank of the Moors. The Spanish guns, reserving their fire until well within range, did great execution, and exploded the enemy's chief magazine. Close under the entrenchments the Spanish infantry suffered much from grape at short range, and Prim's men were troubled by the fire of the sharpshooters. He gave the word to charge, and led the way by riding, with four of his staff, into a battery through a gun opening or embrasure. The column of attack followed, and the enemy gave way. The centre of the line of works was won; and on Prim's right another division, under O'Donnell's brother, made their way inside the position. On the left attack, the third corps won its way, and, on the extreme right, one of Prim's divisions helped the newly landed Spaniards to drive the enemy up into the hills.

Three days after this brilliant success for the invaders, Tetuan was occupied. The armed Moors had vanished, and negotiations for peace were begun by envoys who came to O'Donnell's headquarters. The enemy were, however, merely seeking to gain time for the gathering of fresh and unbeaten troops and of forage and supplies, while messages were passing for several weeks between Tetuan and Madrid and Fez, one of the Moorish capitals. O'Donnell then became aware that the Moors were in great force between Tetuan and Tangier, about 30 miles away on the coast to the north-west, along a hilly, easily defensible route. On March 23rd he took the field again with 25,000 men. Fighting began at two or three miles from Tetuan, where the valley was crossed by a number of low hills, partly clothed with brushwood and dotted

with villages. These positions were successively stormed by the Spaniards, and a very strong position, further on, opposite the Spanish left, was captured by Prim after a brave and obstinate resistance such as the enemy had not hitherto displayed. There were many new men from the wildest and most remote parts of Morocco, and in one case a mere handful of these wild heroes dashed against a whole battalion and died upon the Spanish bayonets. This victory brought renewed negotiations, ending in peace on the condition of the defeated side paying an indemnity equal to four millions sterling, and ceding territory on the coast.

The condition of Morocco is deplorable. The country is devoid of roads, wheeled carriages and education. The tillage conducted by the Berbers and Arabs is of the rudest character. The manufactures are of a paltry description. The Sultan, absolute so far as his arm can reach, is practically defied by many of his people. Slavery is rampant, negroes being openly sold in the streets of the coast towns and in the markets of the interior. Above the ruler's will there is no law. Every office is sold to holders who repay themselves by extortion, and judicial decisions are in favour of the highest bidder. The most fanatical form of Islam is the popular religion; the country is unsafe for European travellers. The only sign of modern civilisation is a force of 10,000 infantry drilled and armed in the European fashion, with some batteries of field guns under French officers, this army being quartered at the one of the three capitals—Morocco, Fez and Miknas or Mequinez—at which the Sultan may be staying. The country, which lies stagnating 'in the name of Allah,' is saved from foreign conquest and partition only by the mutual jealousies of European powers. In September 1897 the Riff pirates of the northern coast, between Ceuta and Algeria, were actively engaged. On September 11th it was announced from Athens that three

Portuguese sailors had been brought to the Piræus by a British vessel. The men belonged to the Portuguese barque *Rosita Faro*, captured by Riffian pirates, who had on a first attack carried off all articles of value, and, on boarding her a second time, had massacred the captain and three of the crew in their rage at not finding what they deemed an adequate booty. Two days later, it was reported at Tangier that villains of the same class had taken another vessel, believed to be of Spanish nationality. An Italian warship was, in September 1897, under orders for Tetuan in connection with piratical attacks on vessels recently plundered, whose crews were being held in the hope of ransom. Such was the state of affairs within less than four years of the opening of the twentieth century on the Mediterranean coast of Morocco.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CHAPTER VI

GREAT BRITAIN AND FRANCE IN EGYPT—THE DUAL CONTROL — ARABI PASHA'S REBELLION — BRITISH RULE IN EGYPT

IN 1875 the Khedive, Ismail Pasha, was financially, to use a familiar phrase, 'in a bad way.' His private loans amounted to about eleven millions sterling, and the floating debt of the country approached twenty-six millions. In November of that year he sold all his shares, 176,600 of the 400,000, in the Suez Canal to the British Government for a sum just under four millions sterling. This amount was, however, soon absorbed, and he applied again to Great Britain for help. Good security for advances was looked for, and a skilled financier, Mr Cave, was sent out to investigate affairs on the spot. His report was not favourable, nor could Mr (afterwards Sir Rivers) Wilson see his way more clearly. In May 1876 the Egyptian ruler issued a decree repudiating his debts, but it was set aside by the international courts, the tribunals which had replaced the former consular jurisdiction. After more inquiries and failures to come to terms with the Khedive concerning a scheme for freeing him and the country from their heavy liabilities, Great Britain and France intervened in an authoritative way, and finding that the Khedive, being owner of one-fifth of all the land under tillage in Egypt, was nevertheless administering that vast domain, under a system oppressive for the cultivators, at

an absolute loss to himself and the country, they induced him to give up a million of acres to the state creditors. The Anglo-French commission of inquiry was still engaged in its work, when Ismail suddenly, at the close of 1878, recalled from exile the statesman named Nubar Pasha, and commanded him to form a ministry in which the charge of financial affairs was to be committed to Mr Rivers Wilson. French jealousy was aroused, and the British financier received a colleague in M. de Blignières. This was the beginning of the famous 'dual control.' In a short time Nubar Pasha and the British ministers were removed, and the open contempt shown for British and French advice caused the two Powers to accept the Sultan's offer to depose the Khedive in June 1879. He was succeeded by his eldest son Tewfik, and the Anglo-French control of affairs was resumed, with M. de Blignières and, in succession, Mr Baring (afterwards Sir Evelyn Baring and Lord Cromer) and Mr Colvin, in place of Mr Wilson, as financial authorities. After much discussion, a commission of delegates from all the European powers except Russia was appointed, and in 1880 a 'Law of Liquidation' dealt with the public debt. A storm was about to arise which would greatly change the condition of affairs in Egypt.

A self-styled 'National Party' came to the front in the course of 1881. This body of natives was, as it seems, equally jealous of the power and influence of the Sultan and of European interference. Their leader, Arabi Bey, a colonel in the Egyptian army, headed a mutiny in September, surrounded Tewfik Pasha in his palace, and compelled him to dismiss the ministry. Some concessions were made to the military class in the increase of the numbers of the army, and Arabi was for the time the virtual master of the country. He was at the head of the War Department, and a 'Council of Notables,' under his influence, was daily diminishing the authority of the

Khedive. Great Britain and France presented a Joint Note, insisting on the maintenance of that authority as 'the only possible guarantee for order,' and declaring that, in the event of dangers arising, the two Powers would unite to face them. The other Powers seemed inclined to support the protest made by the Porte, and, thus encouraged, the revolutionary party caused the making of a law which, in defiance of the opposition of the British and French 'Controllers,' placed financial affairs in the hands of the Notables, and thus frustrated the chief object of the 'dual control.' The downfall of Gambetta in France, and the dilatory and weak policy of his successor, M. de Freycinet, along with the belief that Great Britain would not interfere alone, stirred Arabi, now really wielding dictatorial power with the Sultan's support, to open quarrel with the Khedive, and to a demand for the execution of some Circassian officers condemned for alleged conspiracy against Arabi. There the Khedive stood firm, and the Notables took his part. Europe saw that if the two Western Powers were defeated in Egypt, all European interests, and, along with them, the cause of civilisation in the country, would be ruined. In this conviction, the two governments, at the end of May 1882, sent squadrons which anchored in the harbour of Alexandria. An ultimatum was presented to the Egyptian ministers, demanding the expulsion of Arabi and two other military leaders, and the resignation of the ministry. The 'Nationalists' and the army, relying on the Sultan and not believing that the fleets were there for any other purpose than a harmless demonstration, insisted on the retention of Arabi, and uttered threats concerning life and property to the trading classes. The Khedive yielded to their demands, and Europeans, now feeling alarm, began to flee from Cairo to Alexandria, where they crowded by hundreds on board the ships in harbour. Alexandria was being rapidly fortified by Arabi, and the fanatical Moslem party, on

June 11th, rose and assaulted, wounded and killed a great number of Europeans, also plundering their houses. Mr Cookson, the British consul, was seriously hurt and barely escaped with his life. This tragical event was followed by a general flight of Europeans from Cairo and Alexandria. The Khedive and Dervish Pasha, special commissioner of the Porte, with the European Consuls-General, hastened to Alexandria, leaving Arabi triumphant at Cairo. The Porte, having already converted the dictator of Egypt from Arabi 'Bey' into Arabi 'Pasha,' now raised him to the highest rank of the order of the Medjidie, and he not only continued to fortify Alexandria, but planned an attack on the Suez Canal.

The British Government felt that the hour for action, single-handed, if necessary, had now arrived. The admiral of the squadron, Sir Beauchamp Seymour, was instructed to demand the immediate cessation of work on the fortifications at Alexandria, and, in case of refusal, to use his guns. The French fleet steamed away to Port Said, and at early morning on July 11th the British squadron, of eight ironclads and five gunboats, set to work. The Egyptian guns, of large calibre and modern make, were well served, but inflicted no great damage on our ships or their crews, and when the sun set all the forts were silenced, and some of the guns were spiked by adventurous parties of British tars. When the fire was renewed on the next morning, a flag of truce was raised, and, after some negotiations and a renewal of the fire, Arabi and his men abandoned all the works and left the place. For two days fire and sword, employed by the mob, were at work in the city. About 2000 Europeans, mostly Levantines, perished, and the beautiful town, with its great square containing the equestrian bronze statue of Mohammed Ali, its fine houses and gardens, its busy streets, its bazaars and palaces, was to a large extent a smoking, blood-stained ruin. Order was then restored by the

landing of bluejackets and marines, all plunderers caught in the act being promptly shot. The Khedive escaped a plot for his murder, and, escorted from his palace at Ramleh, four miles outside the city, was guarded by a large body of marines.

The British Government then sent troops to hold the city, and, with a vote from Parliament, and leave to employ an Indian contingent, occupied Suez, in order to receive that force, and prepared an expedition, with Sir Garnet Wolseley in command, to crush the power of Arabi. On August 15th the British general landed at Alexandria, and a few days later the Indian troops, under General Macpherson, reached Suez. The great canal was taken in charge from end to end, with the headquarters at Ismailia. The details of the struggle which ensued are well known. On August 28th, at Kassassin, whither an advance force of the British had pushed on through the desert in order to secure the precious liquid of the Fresh-water Canal from being cut off by the enemy, General Graham, with 2000 infantry and a few guns, and Drury Lowe's cavalry brigade of the 7th Dragoon Guards, and three squadrons—one each from the 1st and 2nd Life Guards and the 'Blues' or Horse Guards—of the Household Cavalry, gained a brilliant victory. The 'Household,' led by Colonel Ewart and Sir Baker Russell, trampled and sabred the Egyptian battalions into utter ruin. On September 9th another attack of the enemy on Kassassin was repulsed, with special distinction for the 13th Bengal Lancers in their picturesque turbans. Arabi then withdrew behind his formidable lines of entrenchments at Tel-el-Kebir, constructed on scientific principles, four miles in length along the front. This position was held by about 26,000 men—Egyptians, Nubians, Bedouin Arabs, and others—and was assaulted at dawn on September 13th —after the famous night march across the desert, the leaders steering the way by the stars—by Wolseley in

command of 11,000 bayonets, 2000 cavalry and 67 guns. Some of the finest of our regiments were there—the Grenadier, Scots and Coldstream Guards—a Highland brigade composed of the 'Black Watch,' the Gordons, the Camerons, and the Light Infantry—the victor cavalry of Kassassin, and the Indian troops supported by the Seaforth Highlanders. In face of the rattling rifle shots and roaring guns of the foe, the position was 'rushed' with the bayonet in the true British style, and in half-an-hour all was over. The victors lost about 350 men, of whom over two-thirds were Highlanders. The vanquished were utterly broken up; Arabi had fallen to rise no more; a handful of weary British horse rode into Cairo and received the surrender of the city. Arabi then gave himself up, and being tried and condemned for mutiny and treason, he went in exile to Ceylon.

In connection with this Egyptian warfare we may note the tragical end of the learned and brilliant English Oriental scholar, Professor Edward Palmer. This great linguist in 1868-70 was surveying Sinai for the 'Palestine Exploration Fund,' and gained a wonderful knowledge of the wild Arab tribes. In 1871 he became Lord Almoner's Professor of Arabic at Cambridge University. In June 1882, at the request of the British Government, he went on a mission to the tribes on the north coast of the Red Sea, in order to prevent, if possible, the Bedouins from allying themselves with Arabi Pasha, and aiding him in his nefarious schemes for destroying the Suez Canal. In the course of this work he rode, in July, from Gaza to Suez. On a second expedition he was joined by Captain Gill, of the Royal Engineers, an enterprising Asiatic explorer, and Lieutenant Charrington, R.N. They were betrayed to hostile Arabs by the sheikh who acted as their guide, and were shot near Nakhl, in the desert east of the Gulf of Suez. About a dozen men of the tribe concerned in this tragedy were hunted down and brought to trial, and

in February 1883 five of them were hanged at Zagazig, in the Nile Delta. The remains of the three victims were recovered and ultimately buried in St Paul's Cathedral.

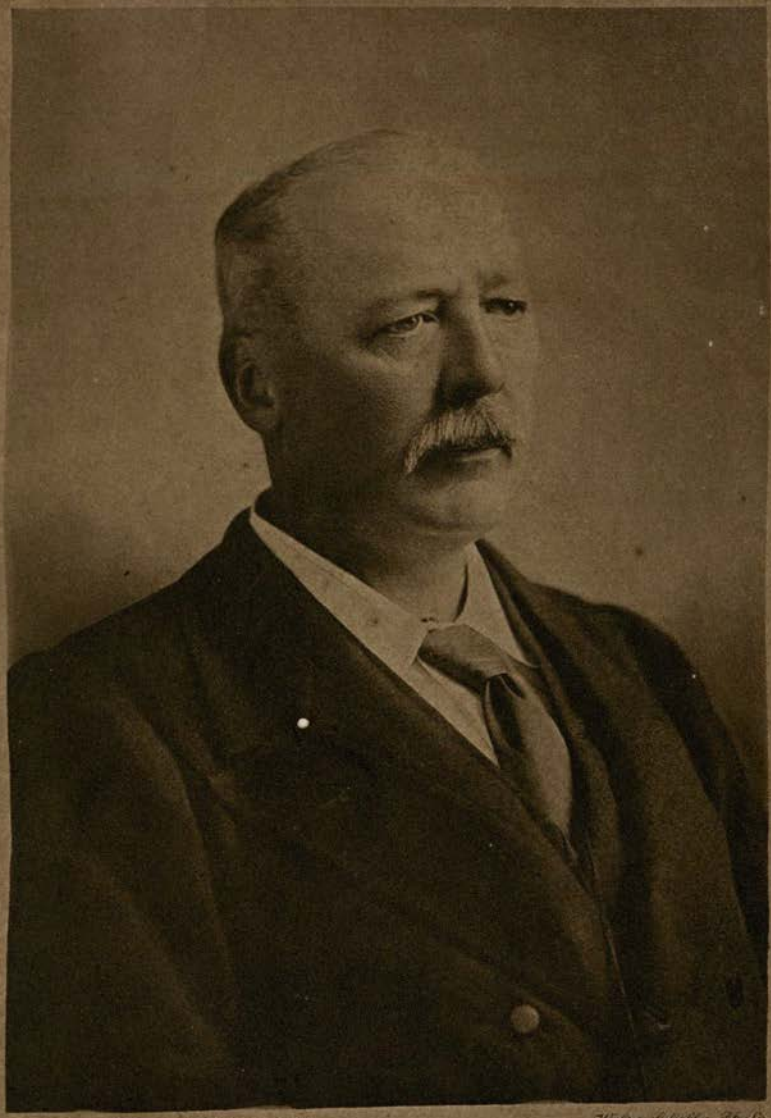
A heavy responsibility came on Great Britain at the close of the war in Egypt. Putting aside for the present the storm of trouble which arose in the Sudan, we deal with the second, and, it may be hoped, the permanent, 'regeneration of Egypt' effected under British auspices. We were in occupation of the country as victors over a rebel, and we were bound to remain there in support of the Khedive's authority, which could not have existed for a day if the British force were wholly withdrawn. The 'dual control' was at an end, and the pacification and restoration of a country that was deeply indebted, disorganised and demoralised, was committed, through the force of circumstances, to British hands alone. A scheme of administrative and social reforms, including the germs of a national representative system, was drawn up by Lord Dufferin and able assistants, and in May 1883 an organic law was promulgated by the Khedive creating a number of representative institutions. The Legislative Council consists of thirty members, fourteen of whom are nominated by the Government. At monthly meetings this body examines the budget and all proposed administrative laws. The General Assembly, comprising the members of the Legislative Council, the six ministers—viz., the President and Minister of the Interior; and the Ministers of Finance, War, Justice, Public Works and Public Instruction, and Foreign Affairs—with forty-six members of popular election, has no legislative functions, but controls the imposition of any new direct personal or land taxation. The ultimate legislative authority resides in the Khedive and the Council of Ministers. Local matters of administration are in the hands of certain elected provincial boards. The Khedive also appointed a British financial adviser, with a seat in the Council of Ministers, but no executive functions. The

main fact was that his concurrence was necessary to any financial measure.

A new era for the country opened with the appointment in 1883 of Sir Evelyn Baring (Lord Cromer), as Agent and Consul-General at Cairo. We have seen him already as one of the two 'Controllers,' and he had afterwards been for three years Financial Member of Council at Calcutta. He was a scion of the family, originally of German origin, which has produced, during more than a century of distinction in the world of British commerce, politics and finance, the men known as Sir Francis Baring, a director of the East India Company, the foremost merchant in Europe of his day, of enormous wealth, who died in 1810; Sir Thomas Baring, a Mæcenas of Art; his son Charles Baring, 'Evangelical' Bishop of Durham; Alexander Baring, Lord Ashburton, a President of the Board of Trade in Peel's first ministry, and famous as the negotiator of the treaty with the United States on the vexed north-west boundary question, and of the Treaty of Washington ('Ashburton Treaty') in 1842, settling the frontier line between Canada and the State of Maine; Francis Baring, first Baron Northbrook; his son, Thomas George Baring, second Lord Northbrook, Viceroy of India (1872-1876) and First Lord of the Admiralty; and Edward Charles Baring, Lord Revelstoke. Sir Evelyn Baring, entering the Royal Artillery in 1858, too late for service in the Crimean War and Indian Mutiny, had a peaceful life as *aide-de-camp* in the Ionian Islands to Sir Henry Storks, the last High Commissioner there; as secretary to the same high official when he presided over the Jamaica Commission of inquiry into the conduct of Governor Eyre; as a member of the Staff College, and an earnest student of strategy and tactics; and as private secretary to his cousin, Lord Northbrook, when he went to India as Viceroy. It was there that he acquired the knowledge of diplomatic, financial and administrative

business which, combined with rare natural gifts, enabled him to render priceless services in his new sphere of action. It is impossible here to enter into details of the financial difficulties with which Sir Evelyn Baring was required to contend. The task of the British Government was rendered more arduous by the necessity of making arrangements with the other Powers in striving to remedy the chronic state of Egyptian bankruptcy by modifications of the Law of Liquidation which controlled the issue of money from the Caisse de la Dette for urgent administrative wants.

The value of Sir Evelyn Baring to the hapless country which he was striving to rescue from the pit into which it had been cast by the improvidence of previous rulers was splendidly shown in 1885. The representatives of the six Powers and of Turkey had sanctioned the raising of a new loan of £9,000,000 sterling for the payment of certain pressing liabilities. On one of these millions Sir Evelyn flung himself, as it were, with the passionate eagerness of a man who foresaw its boundless possibilities for good in capable hands. In Sir Alfred Milner's words, 'It was life and death to Egypt to put into proper working order the great central works upon which the irrigation of the Delta depended. To do so required an expenditure of capital which was beyond the means of the annual budget of the Public Works Ministry. This extra million just provided the necessary capital. It saved the irrigation system, and with it the finances of Egypt. It has brought in cent. per cent. Of all the extraordinary contrasts of which the history, and especially the financial history, of Egypt is so full, there is none more striking than that of the countless millions borrowed by Ismail and this single million for irrigation; the former raised with ease in the heyday of fortune, the latter only obtained after a hard struggle, when Egypt's borrowing powers seemed almost extinct; the former squandered with so little benefit to the country,



From a Photograph by Elliott & Fry. Walter L. Wills, Photo.

Lord Cromer, G.C.B., G.C.M.G.

the latter of such incalculable value in the re-establishment of her prosperity.' The securing of that million, against the opposition of colleagues and in the face even of his own doubts, was due to the rare firmness and foresight of Baring. The wise measure of financial and economic policy was carried out with brilliant success by Sir Colin Moncrieff and his staff of irrigation inspectors, and to this day, and every day, the country is reaping the benefit. Among other reforms affecting the happiness and welfare of the labouring class we may note the suppression of the use of the *courbash* or whip formerly employed in the collection of taxes and the extortion of evidence. The use of the implement was always illegal, but under British administration the people came to know that it was illegal through the publication of a decree for its abolition. The administration of justice was greatly improved by the establishment of new native tribunals, having European members who exercised a salutary supervision. A downtrodden population began to discover, in Baring's words, 'that there is such a thing as justice as between man and man.'

In 1887 the financial position of the country was so far improved by retrenchment and severe economy that the full payment of interest was resumed. The Financial Adviser, Sir Edgar Vincent, was steadily supported by the Consul-General, Sir Evelyn Baring, against Nubar Pasha, the Premier, the ablest of Egyptian statesmen, at heart a reformer, but a man trained in the French bureaucratic school of centralisation, and incapable of approving the free methods of British administration. At last the Egyptian minister went to London, hoping to induce Lord Salisbury, then newly in power (1886-1892) to remove Baring, who had been appointed by Mr Gladstone. In this attempt he utterly failed, and returned to his post in Egypt with a sore feeling. In 1888 the death of Baker Pasha, formerly Colonel Baker in

the British army, then a volunteer fighter in the Sudan, the reorganiser of the Egyptian gendarmerie, and Chief of the Police, brought a fresh struggle between Sir Evelyn and Nubar. The Premier was anxious to be wholly rid of British officers in the force; the Consul-General insisted on the chief command being replaced in British hands. The Khedive, Tewfik Pasha, after another special and vain appeal made by Nubar to the Foreign Office in London, felt himself compelled to uphold Sir Evelyn Baring, and Nubar was dismissed from office, on some minor question, in the course of the year. We may observe that, from time to time, the facts of British occupation and influence in Egypt, arousing the jealousy of other governments, especially of France and Turkey, caused troublesome diplomatic dealings, and in 1887 a convention was made with the ministers of the Porte, providing for the withdrawal of the British troops within three years, unless a postponement of the evacuation should be necessitated by the appearance of external or internal danger. At the instance of France and Russia, however, the Sultan declined to ratify this treaty, and thus, to the great advantage of Egypt, the British occupation has been prolonged through the action of the very Power whose government has so often cavilled at its continuance. At the close of 1888, when only six years had elapsed since the restoration of order by British forces, the country had begun to prosper in various ways. The finances had been reduced to order. New vigour had been imparted to industry, and the executive rule was marked by purity and efficiency long unknown in Egypt. The taxation of the people had been reformed and simplified in accordance with the demands of justice and humanity. An able British general, Sir Evelyn Wood, Commander-in-chief of the Egyptian Army from 1882 to 1886, had created and organised a new military force, which was slowly

and surely becoming an instrument of war vastly different from the former mob of fellahin. The judicial system and the police had been greatly modified and bettered. It was in vain that Riaz Pasha, the successor of Nubar, sought to spur on the Khedive, Tewfik, to the point of obstinate resistance to the judicial changes, and the minister resigned his office in May 1891.

In 1892 Sir Evelyn Baring became Lord Cromer, and in the same year he had to deal with a new Khedive, Abbas Hilmi, who succeeded to power in his eighteenth year on the death of his father, being the seventh ruler of the dynasty of Mohammed Ali. The young Khedive had been educated on the continent of Europe, and his conduct was soon such as to show that he had acquired ideas hostile to British influence in Egypt. In January 1893 he suddenly dismissed the Prime Minister, Mustapha Fehmy, a man who was thoroughly trusted by Lord Cromer and most of the Anglo-Egyptian officials. The Foreign Secretary in the British ministry was at this time Lord Rosebery, and he strongly supported the Consul-General in resisting the appointment to the post of Prime Minister of a man, Fakhri Pasha, who had been formerly Minister of Justice, and dismissed from office on Lord Cromer's advice as hostile to judicial reform. This choice on the part of the rash young ruler was a deliberate affront to the Consul-General and the British Government, and as such it was regarded by them. In spite of the remonstrances of M. Waddington, the French Ambassador in London, Lord Rosebery firmly held his ground, and Lord Cromer, acting on his instructions, caused the Khedive to cancel Fakhri's appointment, and to accept Riaz Pasha as Prime Minister, with the approval of the British Government. The conduct of the misguided young ruler of Egypt had already done mischief in encouraging the anti-British party, comprising the fanatics hostile to all foreigners; the conservatives longing

for the restoration of the autocratic native system of rule, and the turbulent lower class Egyptians and Levantines, whose interest lay in corruption and disorder. The difficulties of British officials were increased for a time, but the state of tension was ended by the result of a second conflict with British influence and authority into which the Khedive was led by his impulsive temper.

Early in 1893 the Legislative Council made some insolent attacks on various points of administration, and, under the influence of Riaz Pasha, the Egyptian Government rejected nearly all their proposals. In the autumn of the same year the Khedive aimed a blow at the authority of his 'Sirdar,' the British Commander-in-chief of the Egyptian Army, Major-General Sir Herbert Kitchener, by appointing an objectionable man as Under-Secretary of State for War. The supreme authority of the British commander had been for ten years undisputed on all military questions, and it was impossible for the most factious Egyptian to deny that, as created and commanded by British officers, the army had become a model of successful administration. Lord Cromer interfered with good results as regarded the maintenance of the Sirdar's position, and the Khedive, irritated by this firm intervention, supported as usual by the Foreign Office in London, went a step further. In January 1894 he set out from Cairo on a 'progress' to the frontier at Wady Halfa, and was received with enthusiasm by his subjects. On every occasion he publicly slighted the British officers who attended or welcomed him, and after the review held at Wady Halfa he had the stupid insolence to complain publicly to the Sirdar of the military inefficiency of the army. Sir Herbert Kitchener instantly resigned his post, but resumed it at the request of the Khedive. Lord Cromer, on instructions from Lord Rosebery, saw Abbas Pasha, and absolutely compelled him to atone for his offence by the issue of a general

order expressing his good opinion of the discipline and efficiency of the army, and his high approval of the officers in the command. The young man, when he looked around him, could find none to support him—not his own high officials, nor the French minister, nor any of the foreigners hostile enough to British influence, but in dread of the consequences of a withdrawal of the only power that stood between them and anarchy. The Khedive issued the order dictated to him, at first only in the French language, and then the British Government, resolved to inflict a salutary humiliation, forced him to publish it also in Arabic. The lesson was driven home by Lord Cromer's effective insistence on the dismissal of the obnoxious Under-Secretary for War, and his replacing by a man known as a loyal supporter of British policy. Riaz Pasha, who had fallen once from power when he got his master Tewfik into trouble with the redoubtable Consul-General, and had again failed, and that ignominiously, in a like course with Abbas, was forced to resign office, and Nubar Pasha was recalled from his six years' retirement. From that day forward the Khedive has shown no disposition to 'kick against the pricks' of the British control which has redeemed his country from an abyss of ruin.

On the beneficent results of British intervention and administration in Egypt we cannot do better than refer to the report of Lord Cromer, issued in May 1898, after fifteen years of our occupation. At that date, the Khedive's Prime Minister, Mustapha Pasha Fehmy, and his colleagues were heartily co-operating with the British officials. The finances were in a flourishing condition. The funded debt had, in the course of the last twelve months, been decreased by nearly a quarter million sterling. Important grants had been made for public works from the Caisse de la Dette, including £30,000 for schools, £10,000 for hospitals, £100,000 for railway material, £154,000 for land drainage, and over

half a million for the construction of two weirs to strengthen the barrage of the Nile for regulating irrigation. The eminent Agent and Consul-General points to three financial phases during the period of British occupation. The first represented a struggle to avert insolvency. The second was a successful effort to reduce taxation. The third was a venture on productive expenditure upon public works. In 1881 the population of the country was under seven millions. In 1897 it was close upon nine and three-quarter millions. Between those dates, the land-tax per *feddan* (nearly an acre) had been lowered from £1, 2s. to 18s. 3d., and the taxation per head of population from £1, 2s. 2d. to 17s. 9d. The annual number of third-class railway passengers had become nearly nine and a half millions instead of just over three millions. The second-class passengers had been nearly tripled. The tons of merchandise carried by rail had grown from one and a quarter to over two and three-quarter millions. The pupils in the public schools had become 11,300 instead of 5360. The number of men called out on *corvée*—the forced gratuitous labour on public works which had weighed so heavily, in the days of Ismail Pasha and his predecessors, on the *fellahin*—a grievance which, in France, was a contributory cause of the great uprising in 1789 of an oppressed people against a blindly selfish aristocracy — had sunk from 281,000 to 11,000. The vessels entering and leaving the port of Alexandria had grown in burden from one and a quarter million to over two and a quarter million tons. These figures are, to the thoughtful mind, grandly expressive of a solid increase in human prosperity and happiness under British sway. On the moral side, there was a diminution in crime, especially in crimes whose lessening implies greater efficiency of the police. The prisons were fuller, but the fact testified to the better working of the criminal courts. A marked change had come in the settlement of the country. In 1882 the

Bedouins were classified as 149,000 settled and 98,000 nomad. In 1897 the settled Bedouins were 485,000, the nomads 89,000; the change showing that large numbers of Bedouins had, during fifteen years, been absorbed into the settled inhabitants of the Nile Valley.

In case any shade of suspicion may be held to attach to the report of an administrator on his own work, we confidently appeal to the judgment of a late United States diplomatist in Egypt, a man by no means an admirer of British ways, but one who denounces our nation as sadly lacking in 'that inherent respect for right which Americans possess.' The tribute wrung from Mr Penfield's candour by the hard facts of the case, as published in a recent number of *The North American Review*, is this:—'The occupation has done vast good. . . . For half a dozen years Egypt has fairly bristled with prosperity. The story of that country's emergence from practical bankruptcy, until its securities are quoted nearly as high as English Consols, reads like a romance, and there is no better example of economical progress, through administrative reform, than is presented by Egypt under British rule. Security is assured to person and property; slavery has been legally abolished; official corruption is almost unknown; forced labour for public works is no longer permitted, and native courts have now more than a semblance of justice. Hygienic matters have been so carefully looked after that the population has increased from seven to over nine millions in a decade. Land taxes have been lowered and equalised, and are systematically collected, and scientific irrigation is so generally employed that the cultivable area has been considerably extended. Egypt was probably never so prosperous as at the present time. England possesses a capacity for conducting colonies, and for rehabilitating exhausted countries, which amounts to genius. Overbearing and arrogant as the British functionary out of England often appears, he must

be scrupulously honest and capable to find a place in the perfectly organised machinery guided from London.' It is impossible for any patriotic Briton to read words so emphatic from so valuable a witness, a witness who, with no prejudice in favour of Great Britain, thus testifies to that which he has seen and known, without a thrill of honest pride in his country and his countrymen. In Egypt, British subjects of the Crown were, fifteen years ago, called upon to deal with a system that was imperfect, incongruous and irritating to a high degree, one which would have 'maddened the logical Frenchman by its absurdities,' and have caused the authoritative temper of the German, again in Sir Alfred Milner's words, to 'revolt at its restrictions.' We were not permitted to radically alter the system, but 'that incarnation of compromise, the average Briton, accepted the system with all its faults, and set to work, quietly plodding away to do the best he could under untoward circumstances.' Rendering all their due to the able, honest and energetic colleagues and subordinates of one great man, whose mental and moral equipment was peculiarly suited to the very peculiar circumstances of the case, we may safely pronounce that, if to the Egyptian darkness and bondage of the rule of the Turkish Pashas have succeeded the sunlight and freedom of the 'Pax Britannica'; if, for the first time during countless generations, law and order and security have reigned in the land; if the stream of justice has been purified, the hand of the oppressor checked, the extortion of the tax-gatherer stayed, the lash torn from the hand of the task-master, and the Egyptian people made to rejoice in the presence and power of aliens, the achievement is mainly due to the singular union of strength and forbearance, to the fortitude, patience and sagacity, the tact, the skill, the magical personal influence over his human instruments, British and foreign, which have marked the work in Egypt of Evelyn Baring, first Lord Cromer.

CHAPTER VII

THE EASTERN SUDAN

GREAT BRITAIN, in undertaking the task of occupying and pacifying Egypt, had assumed a grievous burden of responsibility concerning the great Egyptian dependency to the south—the Sudan—by which we must here understand the Eastern Sudan, or the territory east of Wadai. The Egyptian Sudan comprised mainly the basin of the Middle and Upper Nile, extending into Equatorial Africa on the Nyanza Lakes. In 1882 the territory formed an ill-organised province, with its capital at Khartum. The population was about fifteen millions on a rough estimate, three-fourths of the number being of negro race, and either Pagans or merely professing Mohammedans; the remaining fourth part were of Arab or Hamitic stock, and fervent devotees of the faith of Islâm. When Gordon left the Sudan in 1879, on the deposition of Khedive Ismail Pasha, an end speedily came to the condition of comparative order and settled rule which he had been able to introduce. The able and energetic Gessi Pasha, his successor as an opponent of slavery, the man who had overcome the desperate revolt excited by the son of Zebehr, the notorious slave-hunter, died in 1881, and the slave-dealers were again a noxious force in the vast territory. The Egyptian Government had adopted a tyrannical policy after Gordon's departure. The payments made to the Mohammedan religious teachers were stopped, and his former colleagues and coadjutors

Emin Bey, Lupton Bey and others, were discouraged. The people of the Sudan were crushed by a taxation levied in the most cruel fashion by Turks, Circassians, and Bashi-Bazouks. The country was ripe for revolt against Egyptian rule when a man arose as the proclaimer of a religious war. In the history of Islâm there have been in Asia and Africa many instances of men coming forward with the claim of being the 'Mahdi,' meaning, in Arabic, 'the guided or inspired one,' a sort of Messiah who should restore all things for the faith of Mohammed, according to the great prophet's promise that a descendant of himself should spread the religion over the world. Such a man was it that Mohammed Ahmed, son of a carpenter, born in Dongola about 1841, claimed to be. After being in succession a civil servant of the Egyptian Government, a trader and a dealer in slaves, he bethought him of turning to account, in a new career, the religious training which he had received at Khartum and Berber. With this view he retired for some years to a cave in the island of Aba, on the White Nile, and gained fame by the fasting and other austerities of life which were supposed to indicate a high degree of piety and devotion to the cause of Islâm. The man's subsequent course was to prove him to be an unscrupulous scoundrel of a low type; but as the cunning impostor is ever provided, through human frailty, with his following of fools, so Mohammed Ahmed found many to believe in his religious pretensions. The clever schemer provided himself with the sinews of war by taking to wife wealthy daughters of chieftains in leading tribes, and in May 1881, at the true prophetic age of forty, he announced himself as 'Al-Mahdi.' His emissaries in his name proclaimed the coming downfall of Egyptian power in the Sudan, and his advent was hailed with joy by the large population groaning under oppressive misrule. *Hinc illae lacrymae*—here the tragical story of the Sudan in modern days begins.

Many of the chiefs recognised Mohammed Ahmed as the veritable Mahdi promised by the great founder of the faith, and the regular doctors, the professional theologians of Cairo and Khartum, the body styled Ulema, 'the learned,' 'the wise,' the interpreters of the Koran, took alarm at these adhesions, and called on the Egyptian Government to interfere. An army composed of Egyptian fellahin—forced levies serving with no goodwill to the cause—was despatched to the scene of the new propaganda, and the military training of these men enabled them to win a first battle over the Mahdi's raw force of Sudanese in Sennaar. He retired for some distance up the Bahr-el-Azrek, or Blue Nile, reorganised his forces, and took the field in greater strength. Crossing the White Nile into the region called Bahr-el-Ghazal, the province on a western tributary of the great river south of Kordofan, the Mahdi, in July 1882, utterly destroyed a body of six thousand Egyptian troops. For some months thereafter he waged war with varying success, always putting defeated opponents to the sword and augmenting the terror of his name. In January 1883 a substantial success came to him in the surrender of the town of El-Obeyd, the capital of Kordofan, about 220 miles south-west of Khartum. He suffered one or two more defeats from Egyptian generals, but the possession of the town gave him a good foothold in the Sudan. At this time the British Government was represented in Egypt by that able diplomatist and statesman Lord Dufferin, and he gave the Egyptian official in charge of Sudanese affairs some sound advice. Let the Khedive, he urged, be satisfied with retaining his authority over Sennaar, to the east of the Nile, and trust to the slow and sure influence of beneficent administration for the regaining in due time, and the maintenance, of power in the provinces of Dongola and Khartum, and in other territory which it might be deemed advisable to recover

and retain. The Government of Tewfik Pasha had other views, and were resolved to strive for the recovery of lost Kordofan. An army was sent across the Nile under the command of a British officer, General Hicks, or Hicks Pasha, who had hitherto been successful in Sudan warfare. He had several British officers under his command, and the expedition was attended by the adventurous and able Edmund O'Donovan, correspondent for the *Daily News*, a born war correspondent, a gifted Oriental linguist, a traveller, too, and a brilliant writer and lecturer on Merv. The invaders of Kordofan were from the outset doomed to destruction. The men were deficient in number for the work; they were lacking in endurance for such a campaign; they were half-beaten from the start through superstitious fear of the Mahdi. The British Government then in office held itself neutral at that time as regarded Sudan affairs, and their representative, Sir Edward Malet, was instructed to leave the Egyptian rulers to their own devices, to offer no counsel on the subject. From time to time, as the march to El-Obeyd was progressing, letters to the *Daily News* reached London from O'Donovan describing the perils and privations, the difficulties and the sufferings, which befel Hicks and his men. On September 23rd one of his last letters, dated from the camp of El Duem, was written to a private friend, and this was expressed in the despondent tone of a man who had no confidence in his surroundings. The brave writer, who had often cheerfully looked death in the face, regarded himself as being 'in company with cravens' (the Egyptian troops) 'that you expect to see run at every moment, and who will leave you behind to face the worst,' and alluded to the probability of himself dying 'with a lance-head as big as a shovel through me. Some weeks passed away, and before arriving within sight of the minarets of El-Obeyd, the army of Hicks Pasha was led into an ambush on November 5th 1883.

After three days of hard fighting the force was destroyed almost to the last man. All the British officers perished fighting on foot, after the spearing of their steeds. General Hicks, with his staff, dashed headlong on horseback at a sheikh whom they supposed to be the Mahdi, and the British leader cut his face and arm with his sword, the man's body being protected by a Darfur mail shirt of steel. At that moment Hicks was unhorsed by the throwing of a club which struck him on the head, and was at once done to death, the gallant O'Donovan being slain near him. The only European of the expedition who escaped was a Prussian sergeant who had deserted to the foe some days previously. Almost every Egyptian was killed. The Mahdi, not present during the desperate fight, came to view the body of Hicks Pasha, through which every sheikh, according to Arab custom, thrust his spear. A Coptic official, in the disguise of a dervish, brought the direful news to Khartum, whence it was flashed to Cairo and London, becoming known there about a fortnight after the battle.

The disaster which thus occurred near El-Obeyd made the Mahdi triumphant in Kordofan, to the west of the Nile, and imperilled all the Egyptian garrisons in the Eastern Sudan. The chief lieutenant of the victorious impostor, Osman Digna, was a man whose trade as a slave-dealer and general merchant at Suakin, on the Red Sea, had been ruined by the Khedive's suppression of the traffic in human flesh, and, eager for revenge, he quickly carried the standard of revolt throughout the territory. Blow after blow fell on the supporters of Egyptian power. Five hundred of the Khedive's troops, in charge of Commander Moncrieff, R.N., British Consul at Suakin, were cut to pieces on their march from that port to Tokar (Tokha). This latter town was then closely invested by the foe, who also shut up a small Egyptian garrison at Sinkat. At Khartum a

British officer, Colonel de Coetlogen, had only 4000 Egyptians to hold a town whose large black population might at any moment rise upon the garrison, and whose ramparts required three times the number of men for a proper defence. At Berber, Dongola, Kassala, Fashoda and other towns were garrisons that might at any time find themselves beleaguered by superior forces. Soon after the destruction of Moncrieff's force, 700 Nubian troops of the Khedive were massacred at Tamai, and the Cairo Government was then roused to something like a true sense of the position of affairs. A former officer of the British army, Colonel Valentine Baker of the 10th Hussars, a very daring and skilful officer, 'Baker Pasha' in the Egyptian service, where he commanded the gendarmerie, was sent, for the relief of Sinkat and Tokha, with a force of 3650 men and six guns. The troops were landed at Trinkitat, south of Suakin, and the march for Tokha began. When three miles of ground had been covered, a body of about 1200 Arabs was sighted some 3000 yards away, and the Egyptian troops quickly showed their quality. The scouts in advance, after some wild shooting, came rushing back. The cavalry, bidden to charge a small body of the foe on the right flank, fled back to the main body on seeing the scouts run. The main body then began to quiver, and could not, in their panic, form a close square. The enemy, numbering one-third of the Egyptians, rushed in and massacred them amidst a scene of confusion, in which cavalry, infantry, camels, mules, baggage and slain and wounded men were all huddled together in a weltering mass. The cowardice of the Egyptians was deplorable. With arms in their hands they were unable to fire a shot or to strike a blow in their own defence, and the British officers—Baker, Colonels Hay, Sartorius and Burnaby, Major Harvey and others—when they saw the hopeless condition of affairs, dashed on horseback for the shore,

cutting their way out amid bristling Arab spears and swords. Of the wretched Egyptians, 112 officers and over 2200 men were killed and wounded, and the Krupp guns and 3000 rifles were lost. This fearful massacre, rather than battle, of El-Teb, took place on February 4th 1884. Four days later, after a brave defence and the exhaustion of food supplies, the commander, Tewfik Pasha, of the garrison at Sinkat spiked his guns, destroyed his spare ammunition, and made a bold sally at the head of his 400 men, encumbered with the charge of women and children, endeavouring to cut his way through Osman Digna's forces. The result was a butchery, from which only about 6 men and 30 women escaped.

By this time, even the British Government of that day felt forced to abandon its passive attitude in Sudanese affairs, and to vindicate the credit of the British name with the people of Islâm, who, in every bazaar from Cairo to Calcutta and Central Asia, were exulting in the fact that Mohammedan warriors had, with the utmost ease, been triumphing over troops led by British officers. The rulers of Great Britain had advised the Khedive to give up the Sudan, and on this ground also it was needful to use every effort for the rescue of the other garrisons of Egyptian troops. The national honour was at stake, and, none too soon, it was to be maintained. Sir Gerald Graham was at once, under telegraphic orders from London, detached from General Stephenson's army of occupation at Cairo for the relief of the garrison at Tokha, and for the infliction of a blow on Osman Digna's power. On February 28th the little army placed under his command was gathered at Trinkitat, composed of men drawn from Admiral Hewitt's squadron at Suakin; of the 10th Hussars and the Royal Irish Fusiliers, both received from the *Jumna*, a great home-coming 'trooper' from India which put into Suakin by signal; and of the 'Black Watch' (42nd

Regiment), the Gordon Highlanders, some companies of the 60th Regiment (King's Own Rifles), the York and Lancaster Regiment, and about 400 Royal Marine Artillery and Light Infantry. The speed and completeness with which this force was organised greatly impressed foreign military critics, and was a good proof of British capacity for swift preparation to make our power felt at any point. The whole force numbered 2850 infantry, 750 mounted men, 150 bluejackets, 100 Royal Artillery and 80 Royal Engineers, with eight 7-pounders and six machine guns. The first news which greeted the General and his men on landing was that of the surrender of Tokha and of the union of the garrison with the rebels under Osman Digna. The Mahdi's lieutenant was described at that time, by an Austrian spy who made his way into the enemy's camp, as 'a common-looking man, dressed in a dirty shirt and straw hat, who spent most of his time in exciting his followers by reading to them religious books about the Mahdi, with comments of his own.' He appeared to have great influence over the minds of his men, and, in reply to a summons under flag of truce, he declared his resolve to drive every man at Suakin, British or Egyptian, into the Red Sea. The march from the shore at Trinkitat began on February 29th, and as the force passed near the spot where the decaying bodies of Baker Pasha's Egyptians lay about in hundreds, the enemy fired on the British with the Krupp guns taken at El-Teb. Baker Pasha was badly hurt in the face by a shell-splinter, but he went on again as soon as the wound was dressed. An earthwork with mounted guns and flags flying was stormed by the 42nd and Gordon Highlanders, Colonel Burnaby, acting as a volunteer, armed with a double-barrelled fowling-piece, being one of the first men in with his huge bulk and receiving some bad wounds. The enemy fought with the utmost courage and fell by hundreds, at close quarters,

under bullet and steel. Another volunteer present in this smart engagement was Captain Knyvet Wilson of the *Hecla*, who rushed on five or six of the enemy attacking a Gardner gun at a corner of the advancing British square or oblong, broke his sword at the hilt over the head of one of them, and kept the others at bay with his fists and his sword-hilt until aid arrived. A sword-cut on the head was his only wound; the Victoria Cross was his ample reward.

When the foe had been driven from their first position they retired within trenches and a line of many holes or rifle-pits, each containing two, three, or four men. The square formation was now abandoned, and the men advanced in two long lines, slaying the Arabs with the bayonet as they started from the pits and rushed bravely on. An old sugar mill was stormed in the most brilliant style by the seamen under Lieutenant Graham, the enemy, who could be killed but not driven off, resisting with the greatest desperation. The last stand of the Arabs was made at the wells of El-Teb, in a position covered by a crescent-shaped breastwork of barrels and sandbags. A rush of the Gordons drove them away towards Suakin and Tokha, and the second battle of El-Teb was won, after a duration of three hours, with a loss to the victors of 34 killed and 155 wounded. The enemy, estimated at 6000, left more than a third of that number dead on the field, with the loss of four Krupp guns, two brass howitzers, a 'Gatling,' and a great store of arms and ammunition—the spoils of victory at El-Teb, Tokha, Sinkat, and other scenes of Arab prowess. The British cavalry—the 10th and 19th Hussars—had played a great part in this first success in the Sudan, with considerable loss in the deaths of Major Slade and Lieutenants Freeman and Probyn. It was on this occasion that the uselessness of the sword against such an enemy, in the hands of cavalry, was displayed. The Arabs, breaking into loose order as the charge came on,

lay down among the bushes, hamstrung the horses, and then attacked at an advantage the dismounted riders. With the sabre, the crouching enemy could not be reached, and henceforth Lancers were usually employed. General Graham was so much impressed by what he saw that he armed his troopers there and then with 600 of the Arab spears, weapons resembling Zulu assegais, but having their momentum and piercing power increased by a roll of iron at the end of the shaft. About thirty of the Arab horsemen, riding barebacked with wonderful skill, charged a whole British squadron, three of them emerging unhurt from the struggle.

On the following day, Tokha was occupied, and on March 4th Graham and his men escorted the people to Trinkitat and embarked for Suakin. Osman Digna and the sheikhs, in reply to a summons of submission, were still defiant, and on March 12th the British troops advanced on Tamai, about 15 miles south-west of Suakin, and bivouacked at about 1400 yards from the enemy's position. Our men were harassed through the night by a dropping fire, and in the morning (March 14th) a considerable body of Arabs, who came up within a few hundred yards of the square, were dispersed by the fire of a Gardner and a 9-pounder. At eight o'clock, after the cavalry had searched the bush well in front, and seen only small parties of the foe, an advance was made on the wells of Tamai, with the infantry in two echeloned squares, chessboard fashion, about a thousand yards apart. The foremost square was composed of the Black Watch, the York and Lancasters, and the Naval Brigade, with General Graham and his staff in the centre. The second square, following in the right rear of the first, was made up of the Gordons and the Royal Irish and the King's Rifles, under the command of the cool-headed, able, stern General Redvers Buller. A surprise was in store for the British officers and men. They had not

yet taken the full measure of Arab warriors. The 'fire discipline' of the British infantry was not yet, from lack of experience against such opponents, brought to perfection. The march towards the enemy was over ground intersected by water-courses, towards a deep hollow full of large stones and rough rocks, and, as the edge of the *nullah* or ravine was neared, the fire of our infantry became over rapid, filling the air with smoke, under the cover of which masses of Arabs rushed up the slopes of the hollow, and broke into the first square at points where it was dislocated by the too swift advance of the leading companies of the York and Lancasters and the Black Watch. The York and Lancaster men fell back upon the Marines, and caused disorder, and a confused hand-to-hand fight ensued, as the bolder Arabs crawled beneath the bayonets and the muzzles of the Gatling and Gardner guns, and, turning bayonet strokes aside with their shields, wrought much havoc with their spears. Some of the athletic officers and men of the Black Watch were more than a match for the foe with claymore and bayonet, and two privates, fighting on the edge of the ravine, killed more than a dozen Arabs before they fell from loss of blood. The whole of the men in the first square were falling back in good order, without the least sign of panic, before the constant rushes of the Arabs, and the machine guns were in the enemy's hands after being defended to the last by the heroes of the Naval Brigade, who lost three officers and many men. The four field guns firing shrapnel were preserved from capture, and mowed down the enemy by scores as they charged.

At this moment the battle was restored by the steady advance of the second square under Redvers Buller. Assailed in the same furious way as the men in front, the Union Infantry Brigade—Gordons, Irish Rifles and King's Own—had kept their order, and

driven off or slain all opponents. At the sight of these splendid comrades, the men of the first square rallied and formed afresh in line with them, and then the steady, unceasing fire checked the Arabs at all points. In fifteen minutes from the time of their loss, the captured guns were re-taken, and an attack, made in the most furious rushes by a fresh and yet larger body of the foe issuing from another deep ravine where they had lain concealed, was utterly defeated by a withering, ceaseless fire of breechloaders. At the right moment the cavalry came up, dismounted, and poured deadly volleys among the enemy in their retreat, and the hard-fought battle of Tamai was won. Every British officer of the Black Watch had fought hand-to-hand with the enemy, using revolver and sword, and, in some cases, spears taken from dead Arabs. A private of that noble regiment, T. Edwards, won the Victoria Cross for his bravery in defending, against a dozen Sudanese, a Gatling gun and some mules loaded with its ammunition. The naval officer and bluejacket in charge were both disabled, and Edwards brought off the ammunition safely. The camp of Osman Digna at the Tamai Wells was burnt, and the chieftain, who had kept himself safe, as his custom has ever been, during the conflict, watching the engagement at a distance—having retreated among the hills to pray—saw the flames and smoke rise from the fire which consumed his tents, huts and stores. Two standards were captured as trophies of the battle, which had cost the British force 5 officers and 104 men killed, and 8 officers and 104 men wounded. The Arabs had over 2000 slain, 600 corpses being counted at the spot where the foremost square was broken. On the following day, Graham advanced to the village of Tamanieb, where the enemy were still in some force, but Osman and his men had seen and felt enough, and stole away by degrees to the moun-

tains. The greater part of Sir Gerald Graham's force then returned to Cairo, after thus crushing for a time the power of the Mahdi on the Red Sea littoral of the Eastern Sudan. We must now turn to one of the most tragical episodes of modern British history—the death of Gordon on the fall of Khartum.

The largest of the Egyptian garrisons in the Sudan was that at Khartum, and early in 1884 General Gordon, at the request of the British Government, went out with Colonel Stewart, an officer possessing great knowledge of Oriental men and things, charged with the task of arranging with the Mahdi for the peaceful withdrawal of the Egyptian troops. On February 18th he was received at Khartum with great enthusiasm by the people, who hailed him as 'Sultan, Father and Saviour of Kordofan,' a designation which the would-be rescuer did his best to merit by burning the Government books recording the debts of the people, with the whips and other instruments of oppression, and by releasing most of the prisoners, after examination into their several cases. Colonel de Coetlogen was sent away with thanks for his services, and with the assurance that he was leaving Khartum 'as safe as Kensington Park,' words destined to be fearfully belied by facts. In pursuance of his purpose, Gordon issued several proclamations. In one, he proclaimed the Mahdi 'Sultan of Kordofan.' In another, he, the former assailant of the slave trade and slavery, gave his sanction to the institution in the Sudan. He even, without success, requested the British Government to appoint Zebehr, the great slavery man, to the governorship of Khartum and the surrounding district. In these proceedings, the British emissary was not, of course, doing what he approved, but seeking to lighten his task of rescuing the Egyptian troops by conciliation of those who might be his most formidable opponents. In respect of the Mahdi he entirely failed, and he was greatly

misled by the reception accorded on his arrival. He had been well received because he was regarded as the forerunner of a British expedition which would take possession of the Sudan and deliver the people from Egyptian tyranny, and when he proclaimed his real purpose to be the withdrawal of the garrisons in view of the abandonment of the Sudan by Egypt without any successive occupation by the British, his influence in the city rapidly waned. The people of the surrounding country were wildly excited concerning the Mahdi's religious mission as the restorer of Islâm, the man who was to conquer the world for the prophet, and Gordon's former power in the land could not be revived. There was already, a month after his arrival, treachery within the walls. On March 16th Gordon had made a sortie, at the head of more than a thousand men, against a few score of the Mahdi's followers gathered on the opposite bank of the river, and his men fled in a panic like that of the Egyptians under Baker Pasha at El-Teb. The treachery of two black pashas in the force was largely the cause, and Gordon had them promptly tried by court-martial and shot. The Mahdi would have nothing to do with Gordon's offer of the Sultanship of Kordofan, and sent back his present of robes of honour by the hands of three dervishes, who delivered their message with their hands upon their swords, and called upon the General in the Mahdi's name to become a Mussulman and to assume a dervish's dress. The city was soon partly invested by the Mahdi's men, and few messages from Gordon could reach the anxious world outside Khartum. The Mahdi was master of the position. On April 9th the Bahr-el-Ghazal province was in his power; on the 19th all communication with Khartum was cut off. On May 19th Berber fell, and 'a veil of darkness and silence,' in Mr Traill's words, 'never to be lifted during Gordon's lifetime, descended over Khartum.'

We have no intention here of entering on the thorny subject of the British Government's failure to despatch in time an expedition of relief. There are those who seek to explain the lamentable affair by hints at 'the vacillation of a divided Cabinet.' We may refer to Mr Traill's *Lord Cromer* for a discussion of the subject, and here note that only on August 11th was Lord Wolseley's plan of a boat expedition up the Nile sanctioned. On the 26th he was appointed to the command, and 800 whale-boats for the use of the men were sent out from England. The first vessel of the relief expedition started on September 10th, the very day when Colonel Stewart and Mr Frank Power, British Consul and *Times* correspondent, left Khartum for Dongola, down the Nile, with dispatches from Gordon, on the steamer *Abbas*. On September 21st Gordon received news of an expedition being on the way, and on the 30th he sent off his armed steamers to Metemmeh to await the arrival of the troops. Three weeks later he received news of a tragical and most unlucky event. Stewart and Power had been wrecked on the river shore and murdered by some of the tribesmen. The captured papers included some containing full information as to all stores and food remaining in Khartum on September 9th, the day before the starting of Stewart and Power, with details concerning the strength of the garrison and the number of people. The Mahdi's men could thus calculate to a day how long the city could hold out, and the siege was thenceforth closely pressed. The expedition had reached Wady Halfa on October 21st, but it was not until November 4th that the first company of infantry was embarked. November passed away drearily for Gordon and the beleaguered garrison. On the 12th the Dervishes attacked Omdurman and disabled by shell-fire one of Gordon's two remaining steamers. We must now see briefly what was doing by Lord Wolseley's

force, as food was daily failing in Khartum, and the wretched people were eating rats and mice, boot-leather, mimosa-gum, and the inner fibre of the palm trees. The one heart that never failed was that of Charles Gordon.

On December 14th the mass of the expeditionary force was gathered at Korti, for an advance by the caravan route across the desert to Metemmeh. A fortnight or more passed in awaiting the arrival of sufficient baggage animals and food supplies, and it was not until January 12th that the column arrived at the wells of Gakdul, half-way to Metemmeh. From that point the advance could only be made by the use of armed force. Most of the infantry in the column placed under Brigadier-General Sir Herbert Stewart were mounted on camels, including men of the Naval Brigade, led by Lord Charles Beresford; picked men from the Coldstreams, Scots and Grenadier Guards; some Royal Marines; selected men from various regiments; 400 men of the Royal Sussex; a company of the Essex Regiment; a squadron of the 10th Hussars on horses; the Heavy Camel Regiment, made up of picked men from the three Household and seven other cavalry regiments; a detachment of Royal Engineers, half a battery of the Royal Artillery—in all, about 120 officers and 1900 men. The motley array presented a spectacle never rivalled by a British force, with its long lines of camels bearing bluejackets, foot soldiers, and cavalrymen never before thus conveyed, in drab tunics and trousers, Indian leggings, and sun helmets of pith wrapped in puggarees. The Gakdul wells were protected by two stone forts erected by an advance party of the Guards, and a detachment of the Sussex Regiment was left to hold the position when the onward march was made on January 14th 1885. It was at Abu-Klea, on the 17th, that the first encounter with the enemy came. The British force, on sighting the foe, formed a zeriba with stones, brushwood,

baggage, boxes and stray articles to impede a rush, and, after a night passed under a desultory bullet fire from the Arabs, and the beating of their tom-toms or war drums, a square was formed about nine in the morning, composed, after the leaving of detachments at the zeriba and the wells, of only 1500 officers and men, with three screw guns and one Gardner. It was well that this handful of troops, about to face some thousands of Arab warriors, included the best men in the whole British army. All at once, when the moving square, disarranged in its rear face by the lagging movements of the camels inside, carrying water, ammunition and hospital necessaries, was halted for the purpose of being 'dressed,' a mass of about 5000 Arabs started up from behind the flags waving among long grass, and rushed, headed by horsemen, with the utmost fury towards the left front corner of the square. Falling by hundreds under the British fire, they kept on at a run, and by a sudden shifting of their course, some of the enemy got inside the still unformed line. The fighting was desperate, and it was then and there that the gallant 'Burnaby of the Blues' died, fighting fiercely on foot, sword in hand, after being unhorsed by a fatal spear-thrust in the throat. In a few moments he fell, drained of blood by the severance of the jugular vein. At the left rear corner of the square there was severe loss to the British, half of the men of the Naval Brigade falling around their Gardner gun, which had become 'jammed' after firing thirty rounds. The free use of the bayonet and the fire of the breechloaders at last got rid of the Arabs, who slowly retreated, after having, with their fierce rushes, and their odds of over three to one, imperilled the victorious force. The whole battle lasted little more than five minutes. Every Arab who penetrated the square was killed. The fire of the Heavy Cavalry and the Royal Sussex had stopped a formidable charge of horse, and the foe had to retreat, leaving 1100 dead on the ground near the square,

and, according to prisoners, taking with them some hundreds of wounded. The British force had to lament the loss of 9 officers and 65 non-commissioned officers and men killed, while 9 officers (two fatally stricken) and 85 men and non-commissioned officers were wounded. The men were suffering fearfully from thirst, and the column gladly bivouacked at the Abu-Klea wells.

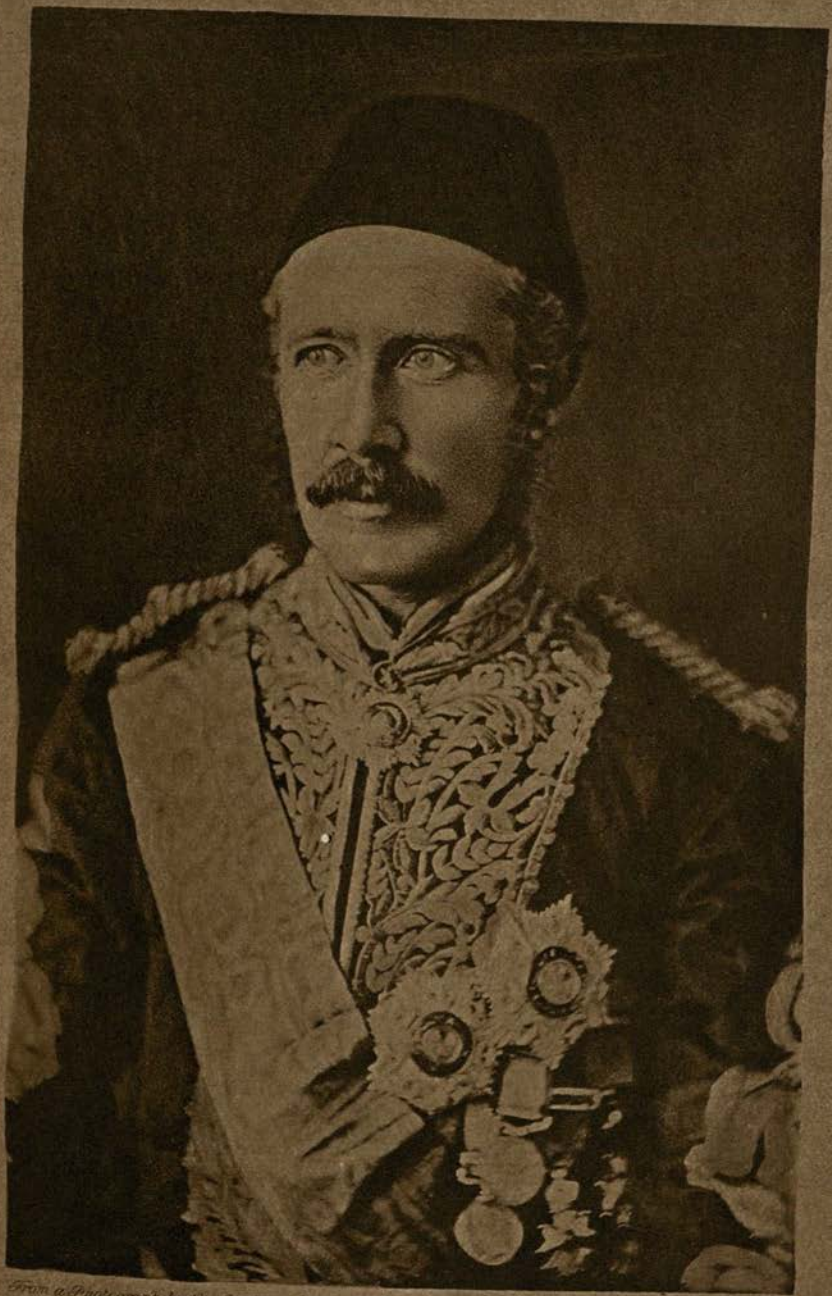
On the afternoon of January 18th, after building a small fort for the protection of the wounded, left behind in charge of 100 men of the Royal Sussex, the troops started for Metemmeh, then about 23 miles away. Some hours of fatiguing march by daylight were followed by troublesome and toilsome progress, in a moonless night, over rough ground, with many halts, during which the wearied men descended from camel-back to snatch even a few minutes of sorely-needed sleep. After passing through a bushy region the long column came out on open ground at about one a.m. on the 19th, and at six o'clock had arrived within 5 miles west of the river, at about the same distance south of Metemmeh, the march from Abu-Klea, over 18 miles of ground, having occupied the force for fourteen hours. At 7.30, from the top of a gravelly ridge, the Nile, Shendy on the further bank, and Metemmeh were sighted, and, along with them, a great force of Arabs barring the way to the precious water. After a halt for breakfast Sir Herbert Stewart gave orders to form a zeriba for the transport animals, and to prepare for battle. During the meal the men were harassed by a long range fire from the foe, with some grievous results. Mr Cameron and Mr St Leger Herbert, war correspondents of the *Standard* and the *Morning Post*, the latter being also private secretary to the General, were killed, and, worse still, Sir Herbert Stewart was mortally wounded by a bullet in the groin, and the command passed into the hands of Sir Charles Wilson. Some time was then spent in forming a redoubt of boxes, biscuit-tins, and other articles on a rising ground near the

zeriba, a work performed under fire by the officers and men of the Guards and the Heavy Cavalry Brigade, assisted by engineers, and by Mr Burleigh of the *Daily Telegraph*, who thereby won the honour, then without precedent for a war correspondent, of mention in despatches.

At two o'clock the square was formed for advance against the enemy, under a severe fire; half the Heavy Brigade, the 19th Hussars, the Royal Artillery and the Naval Brigade, with their guns, and the Gardner machine gun, being left to guard the redoubt and the zeriba. The little force was in a position of extreme peril, ready to perish from lack of water if the Nile were not soon reached, and with the way to the life-giving stream obstructed by an enemy in vastly superior numbers, just augmented by reinforcements from Omdurman. It was a position that tested the quality of British troops, an ordeal from which they have often emerged with glorious success. The General, Sir Charles Wilson, has recorded that, as he took his place within the square, he felt quite at ease when he marked the cool demeanour of the men, whose 'faces were set in a determined way which meant business.' The battle which ensued is variously styled 'of Metemmeh,' or 'of Abu-Kru,' the latter being a village near the river edge. The ground was covered with the enemy's horse and foot, the banners waving in the wind above the long grass, the tom-toms raising a fearful din. The British kept dropping under fire from unseen shooters, and loud cheers arose when the Arabs were seen making ready for a charge. The spearmen, with some horsemen in front, dashed down from a ridge, and the square was halted, delivering a steady fire, which at first, from length of range, had small effect. The 'cease fire' from the bugle was instantly heeded, an excellent sign of coolness in the men. When the rushing Arabs were within 300

yards, the bugle rang out the note for 'fire,' and then the breechloader did its deadly work. Every Arab leader with the banners was shot down; not a man came within 50 yards of the square. In a few minutes all was over. The front ranks of the foe were simply mown down, and the Arabs in front and on both flanks speedily vanished, leaving the way open to the Nile. The draught of its waters had been purchased by the loss of 1 officer and 22 non-commissioned officers and men killed, with 8 officers and 90 'non-coms.' and men wounded. It is lamentable to think that the sacrifice of brave men's lives was in vain for the chief object of the expedition. The grim conclusion of the narrative will take us, by water, to Khartum, where we left Gordon hemmed in by many thousands of the Mahdi's warriors.

On the night of Monday, January 19th 1885, the flying column bivouacked on the Nile bank, sleeping the dreamless sleep of utterly wearied mortals, save the surgeons and the wounded committed to their care. On return to the zeriba it was found that the place had been fiercely attacked, but the Arabs had succumbed to the well-aimed fire of rifles and guns. The men then returned to Abu-Kru, conveying most of the stores from the zeriba, and leaving the rest under charge of a guard of 50 men. On the 21st a force of 1000 men was paraded in two columns for an attack on Metemmeh (or Metamneh). There was some smart firing from loop-holed walls, and while this was occurring, sight was caught of the four steamers which Gordon had sent down from Khartum to take part with the relieving expedition. These craft, three of which were about the size of large river steamers, and the fourth smaller than a Thames penny boat, presented a strange spectacle, with their iron-plate hulls boarded over with heavy timbers two or three inches thick. Near the bows was



From a Photograph by the London Stereoscopic Comp.ʸ

Walter L. Colls A.R.A. Sc.

General Gordon.

a little wooden fort, lined with iron and armed with a small brass rifled gun; on the main deck was another gun. Black Sudanese troops then came ashore, amidst cheers from the British, and made good practice against Metemmeh with four guns. Sir Charles Wilson declined the risk of attempting to storm the town, looking to the smallness of his force, and the men returned to Abu-Kru.

The question of rescue for Gordon was pressing. On one of the steamers was his diary up to December 14th, and a note dated December 29th, with the words 'Khartum—all right; can hold out for years.' Another letter, however, of December 14th, addressed to a private friend, said that 'he expected a crisis within the next ten days,' or about Christmas Day. That day was now, on January 21st, nearly a month past, and Sir Charles Wilson resolved to go up to Khartum. The delay which took place was due, first, to the supposed necessity of the leader's descending the Nile in a steamer to ascertain the truth of a report that an Arab force was advancing from the north; secondly, to a belief that the pressure on the defenders of Khartum was being lessened through the detachment of a large force to meet the relieving expedition, and that the arrival of the news of the British victories outside would encourage Gordon and his men to further resistance. A reconnaissance on the river to the north showed no signs of an enemy in force. Orders were given for a start southwards by river to Khartum on Friday, January 23rd, but absolutely needful work on board in repairing and cleaning the engines, gathering wood for fuel, rationing the crews and selecting pilots, delayed the departure of the two steamers chosen until the morning of Saturday, January 24th. On board the vessels were the General, Captains Gascoigne and Trafford, 20 men of the Royal Sussex, a petty officer and two artificers of the Royal Navy, and 190 Sudanese

soldiers. One of the steamers had in tow a large 'nugger,' laden with *durra* (a kind of millet) for the starving garrison. The progress made by the heavily-laden steamers, running against stream and only by day, was very slow, and the course was impeded by cataracts, sand-shoals and other obstacles. On the afternoon of Tuesday, January 27th, a native on the left (western) bank of the river hailed the *Bordein* steamer, shouting that a camel-man had just passed down with tidings that Khartum was taken and Gordon was killed. Utterly disbelieving this report, Sir Charles Wilson and his party started again at six a.m. on the 28th, and reached a point whence, far ahead, the towers of Khartum could be discerned. The signaller on board was preparing to attract Gordon's attention with the heliograph, when another native on the bank shouted out that Gordon had been killed on the taking of the town two days before. The steamers were soon assailed by a heavy fire from four guns and many rifles at a range exceeding 600 yards, and a reply was made with the guns on board. When the enemy's guns at Halafiyeh, about 12 miles below Khartum, had been passed, the great, flat-roofed Government House at the city was seen rising above the trees. No Egyptian flag flew over the roof, and Sir Charles, with a sinking heart, sped up the river with the boilers at a dangerous pressure of steam, fired on by guns and rifles from another battery; and as he arrived off Tuti Island, between Khartum and Omdurman, at the very point of the confluence of the Blue and the White Nile, he was greeted with a hail of Mahdist bullets. Pressing on still towards Khartum, his steamer, the *Bordein*, was met by the roar of foemen's cannon, a continuous roll of musketry from each bank, the scream of Krupp shells, and the peculiar grunting noise of Nordenfeldt guns or mitrailleuses.

No more doubt now! The order to turn and run

full-speed down river was uttered, and the intending rescuers had to retire, while masses of the enemy with fluttering flags showed near Khartum; with long rows of riflemen in shelter trenches at Omdurman; amid the bursting of shells and the tearing up of the water by countless bullets and a few heavy shot. Our men had very narrow escapes, and the General's field-glass was broken in his hand by a bullet. On the voyage down to Abu-Kru one of the steamers was wrecked by striking on a sunken rock opposite Jebel Royan, just above the Sixth Cataract. The men and most of the stores, except the ammunition, were saved by the exertions of the British officers with Sir Charles Wilson on the *Bordein*. On the same night a messenger from the Mahdi, riding on a white camel and carrying a flag of truce, overtook the steamer and handed in a letter confirming the news of the fall of Khartum and the death of Gordon, with a summons for all on board to surrender and embrace Islâm. The native crew now began to show a mutinous disposition. On the morning of January 31st the last rapid had been passed, and there was clear water all the way ahead to Abu-Kru, but at half-past three in the afternoon the *Bordein* struck heavily on a sunken rock and at once began to fill. The sinking vessel was steered alongside a sandspit running out from an islet near the island of Mernat. The guns, artillery and stores were quickly landed, and an officer was sent down-stream in the vessel's boat to seek help from the Desert Column at Abu-Kru. In the darkness between sunset and moonrise his party of four English soldiers, including the signaller and eight natives, having ceased to row, drifted slowly past an Arab fort, so near to the shore that the men's faces could be clearly seen as they sat over their camp fires, and they could be heard discussing whether the black object on the river was a boat or not. In a moment the moon rose on the eastern

horizon in a straight line behind the boat, and the crew, seizing their oars, pulled hard amidst a shower of bullets which did no mischief. The rest of the journey was not troubled, and at three a.m. on February 1st the party arrived at camp.

A rescue party was placed under the command of Lord Charles Beresford, who by two o'clock was steaming up the river on board the *Safieh* steamer, with a part of the Naval Brigade, twenty picked marksmen of the Royal Rifles, two Gardner guns and two 4-pounders. On the third morning the Arab earthworks were seen, with the funnel of the wrecked *Bordein* in the distance beyond. Lord Charles opened fire with his bow gun, and then, putting on full steam, ran past the batteries, being forced by shallow water to take a course within 80 yards of the works, into the embrasures of which his gunners and riflemen poured such a shower of shells and bullets as drove the enemy from their weapons. The vessel had passed up 200 yards or more when the Arabs brought a gun to bear, and a well-aimed shot passed through the stern and into one of the boilers. The men in the stoke-hole were severely scalded by the outrush of steam. On seeing the white column, Sir Charles Wilson and his men hurried down the right (eastern) bank to fire on the fort across the river. The *Safieh* was able to move by her paddle-wheels a few yards further up the stream, and then Beresford anchored the vessel, stern to the foe, at a range of about 500 yards. From eight o'clock in the morning till sunset the gallant Irishman and his men kept up such a fire from the helpless craft as prevented a single gun from being brought to bear, and the wild rifle-shooting of the Arabs was all but harmless. During the night, with great energy and skill, the boiler was repaired, and, again able to move, the *Safieh*, having turned, ran past the fort with a final salute in the shape of bullets and shells which prevented

the enemy from discharging a single shot. The vessel soon came upon the 'nugger' of the *Bordein*, full of sick and wounded men sent down under charge of Captain Gascoigne. She was hard on a rock, whither she had drifted by night. Under a sharp rifle fire from the western bank the boat was taken in tow, and on the eastern shore Sir Charles Wilson and his party were embarked. On the evening of February 6th, after this brilliant piece of work, the *Safieh* reached Abu-Kru in safety, and Sir Charles Wilson started for Ḳorti to relate his story in detail to Lord Wolseley.

We now turn to the narrative of the proceedings of the body of men known as the River Column, under the command of General Earle. That force had been despatched by Lord Wolseley in whale boats, navigated by Canadian *voyageurs*, men of notable skill in river work, for the purpose of punishing the people of the Monassir tribe who had murdered Colonel Stewart and Mr Power, and then to seize Berber as a second base of operations for a combined movement on Khartum. The expedition comprised a squadron of the 19th Hussars, the Staffordshires, the Black Watch and the Gordons, otherwise the 42nd and 92nd Highlanders; the Duke of Cornwall's Light Infantry, a battery of Egyptian artillery and the Egyptian Camel Corps. Great difficulties were encountered at the rapids or cataracts, often miles in length, on the great bend of the Nile from Korti round by Abu Hamed to Berber, and at Birti two boats and a man were lost. Having started on January 2nd, proceeding in many separate parties, the men were gathered on the 24th at a place called Handab, below the Fourth Cataract, and then, with careful reconnoitring by the mounted troops on each bank in a difficult, rocky region, the advance began. Some Dervishes were seen on January 27th, and the Camel Corps, after an exchange of shots, brought in sixty sheep, six oxen and four

camels. The enemy, including the sheikh who caused Colonel Stewart's and Mr Power's murder, were known to be about 10 miles in front. On the morning of the 30th a white-robed deserter from the Mahdi's men was brought in, and he gave some valuable information concerning the enemy ahead.

At Birti a very strong position for defence was found to be abandoned, greatly to the disgust of the men who, constantly fighting for weeks with cataracts and rocks, had come, with hands blistered by rowing, with their trousers worn to rags as they tugged at the oars, and swarming with vermin from lack of soap, to the region inhabited by the murderous sheikh, only to find that he and his men had stolen away. Some relics of Stewart and his party were found in torn pieces of French and English books, and a broken English aneroid barometer, bought by Stewart shortly before he left Charing Cross Railway Station for the Nile with Gordon. The house of the sheikh where these were discovered was utterly destroyed, and General Earle and his men moved on again. On February 5th a message to halt until further orders was received from Lord Wolseley, with the news of the loss of Khartum. Generals Earle and Brackenbury alone knew the mournful fact, and all others were left wondering at the halt, when, on the 6th, news came in that the enemy, encouraged by the Mahdi's success, were coming down the river to meet the British force. The foe took up a strong position on the Kirbekan Ridge, running nearly eastwards at right angles to the river on the left (at that point, eastern) bank about 15 miles above Birti. After two days' rest (February 6th and 7th) and refitting of damaged dress, the hearts of all leapt up with joy when a telegram from Lord Wolseley ordered the column to resume its march for Abu Hamed. Earle resolved to turn the Kirbekan position by a march round its left flank, and on the evening of February 9th

the force reached its place for the night, less than a mile from the enemy's ridge.

A zeriba with the baggage was left in charge of a company of the Black Watch on the morning of February 10th, and two false front attacks were duly arranged; on the left, by two companies of the Staffords with two guns against the enemy's right, drawn up on the tops of some rocky hillocks close to the river; on the British right, by the Egyptian Camel Corps, threatening to assail the hostile left, placed on the Kirbekan Ridge, high and rocky at top, running west to east for about a mile. This admirable plan was put in execution at seven a.m., the flank march being made eastwards with the Hussars in front, and the infantry prepared to form square, first over hard, broken ground, and then through a wide valley of deep, loose sand, very tiring for the horses and men. The eastern end of the ridge was reached, and then the troops swept round due west, towards the river, at the rear of the enemy's ridge, through a rocky, parallel valley. A hot fire was opened by the Arabs from an impregnable position, strengthened by parapets of loose stones, and General Earle despatched two companies of the Staffordshires, under Colonel Eyre, on an attempt to master the western end of the ridge. The men, under a heavy fire, made their way up one-third of the ascent, and then halted under a cluster of rocks. Meanwhile, two companies of the 42nd (Black Watch) took post on the river bank, intercepting men of the enemy's force who were stealing away to escape by swimming to the opposite shore. Four companies of the Highlanders and three of the Staffords swept round to the rear of the rocky hillock near the Nile, and thus the enemy's position was thoroughly turned, and they were fairly trapped between their foe in front and rear, and the river on their right. The hillock nearest the river was at once

stormed by the Highlanders and the Staffords, with the slaughter or flight of every foeman. A few of them only escaped by swimming, the rest were all shot down as they ran. The main body of the Highlanders and Staffords were preparing to assault the other hillocks, when a body of Arabs, armed with swords and spears, rushed down from the heights upon them. They were met in line with a withering fire; the standard bearer and three others who raised the flag in succession were shot down; the body of the foe broke up and fled towards the river.

The crisis of the battle of Kirbekan came when Earle ordered a general assault on the hillocks. To the notes of 'The Campbells are Coming' screaming from the pipes, the Black Watch rushed over the level ground, up the heights, and slew with shot or steel every man there found. The Staffords were at their sides in the desperate struggle, as our men made their way, yard by yard, from one strong point to another, amid well-aimed bullets which laid low in death Colonel Coveney, and seriously wounded Colonel Wauchope. The loss of officers was not to end there. The position was won, and the men were hunting out lurking Arabs, when General Earle, advancing towards a stone hut with a thatched roof on a small plateau between two of the rocky crests, was shot through the head from a window. In a few minutes he died, leaving the command to General Brackenbury. During this time part of the Staffords, unable to get higher up on the Kirbekan Ridge, had suffered the loss of Colonel Eyre, shot through the heart as he led on his men; two other officers were severely wounded, and all ammunition, save four rounds per man, was expended. The new commander at once despatched the remaining Staffords to re-inforce the two companies on the hill, conveying fresh ammunition, and to carry the heights at the

bayonet's point. This work was executed in the most dashing and effectual style; the ridge was topped, and every Arab, including their leader, was slain. During the battle, lasting from nine in the morning till an hour after noon, the Hussars took the enemy's camp at the mouth of the Shakook Pass to the north, and the success of the British was thus completed. The enemy lost men by hundreds; the victors were weakened by 60—3 officers and 9 men killed, 4 officers and 44 men wounded. The action was remarkable as affording an example of victory over Arabs, with the British fighting not in square but in open order. The three slain officers, a grievous loss to the Service, were buried at sunset, side by side, near the foot of a solitary palm. The other dead were interred by the river bank near the place where they fell. On the way to Abu Hamed, the River Column was recalled, and the whale boats, returning now with the current, sped swiftly down the Nile to Korti. The Desert Column, the victors of Abu-Klea and Abu-Kru, had been withdrawn from near the Nile at Metemmeh by Sir Redvers Buller. It was at Gakdul that the gallant Sir Herbert Stewart died, and there he, with many other wounded who succumbed during transport over the desert, was buried in a lonely ravine. Thus, for nearly a dozen years, ended the work of British soldiers on or near the Nile in Eastern Sudan.

The fall of Khartum entailed further conflict near the shore of the Red Sea. That disastrous event encouraged Osman Digna to a new effort, in spite of his previous defeats, on behalf of his master the Mahdi. On the return of the Desert and the River Columns to Korti, Lord Wolseley's force had taken up summer quarters along the Nile in view of an advance in the autumn on the Mahdi's recent conquest. Osman Digna's chance of harassing his British foes was presented in the scheme which had been

undertaken for the construction of a railway line across the desert from Suakin to Berber. It was absolutely needful to guard this communication from attack during its progress and after its completion, and Sir Gerald Graham, the victor of El-Teb and Tamai, was again sent to Suakin to take command of the army there assembled to the number of over 12,000 men. This force, a truly formidable one for African warfare, included a brigade of Grenadier, Coldstream and Scots Guards; a line brigade of the East Surrey, Berks and Shropshire Regiments, and Royal Marines; a cavalry force of two squadrons from each of two regiments — the 5th Lancers and 25th Hussars; a battalion of Mounted Infantry, Engineers and others; and an Indian Brigade composed of the 17th and 28th Native Infantry, the 15th Sikhs, a company of Madras Sappers and the 9th Bengal Cavalry. Towards the close of the campaign, the loyalty of our Australian fellow-subjects was displayed in the arrival of a volunteer contingent of about 600 officers and men from New South Wales, comprising a battalion of infantry and two batteries. The preparations for the expedition were on a very large scale. In the harbour of Suakin, amidst a throng of troopships, transports, floating hospitals and men-of-war, there were nine vessels fitted with apparatus for condensing fresh water from salt water at the rate of 85,000 gallons per day. The transport service comprised 6000 baggage and 500 riding camels, and many hundreds of mules, and the fighting element was attended by far more than its own numbers of muleteers and camel drivers, water carriers and dhooly bearers, and 'navvies' to lay the railway. The assemblage and equipment of the force were a real masterpiece of organising energy and skill. The laying of the line was at once begun, and after the receipt of an insolent letter from Osman Digna, General Graham found that the road to the interior was blocked by assemblages of his forces at three points to the west

of Suakin—Handub, Hasheen and Tamai—in that order from north to south. He resolved to deal first with the enemy gathered at Hasheen, about 10 miles due west of Suakin, in a position to threaten the right of any advance on Tamai to the south, where the largest Arab force was lying, or the left of an army going to Handub, to the north, through which place lay the course of the projected line.

On March 20th 1885 the whole force advanced from Suakin, except the Shropshires, left there in garrison. The army numbered over 8000 officers and men, with 10 guns, 1200 horses, and about 1000 camels and mules. The formation was in three sides of an oblong, with the Gardner guns and rockets, the engineers and baggage animals inside. Mounted infantry and cavalry scouted ahead, and covered the flanks and front. The tiring march towards Hasheen Wells, the capture of which was the object of the movement, was over rough ground covered with small rocks, pebbles and bush of prickly mimosa. At 8.30 a.m. the scene of action was reached, and General Graham and his staff took their position on a detached hill, to the right of which, on a three-peaked ridge, zeribas and redoubts were at once formed by the engineers and sappers, under guard of the Surrey Regiment. In front of these hills lay a dense mass of bush, and beyond this opened a long elliptical valley, with the Hasheen Wells in the centre; five hills in two parallel lines to the right, all occupied, with part of the plain at their foot, by the Arab forces; to the left lay a line of hills facing the enemy's main position, and also occupied by them in some force. As the British force advanced, fire was opened from the bush and from Arabs crowded on Hasheen Hill, at the entrance of the elliptical valley, and from the hills to the left. That part of the battlefield was quickly stormed by the Marines and the Berkshires, who then poured a hot fire on the tribesmen as they withdrew

towards Tamai. The Bengal Lancers and the 5th British Lancers were sent in pursuit, and also dispersed a body of the enemy coming against the British right flank. On the left, when two squadrons of the Bengalese had retired before great masses of Arabs, on a square of the Guards placed in rear as a reserve, the enemy rushed in their usual furious style upon the square. The assailants, comprising about 800 riflemen and 2000 spearmen, were met with such deliberate coolness and deadly fire that not a man arrived within a dozen yards of the outer line of steel. They recoiled from the British, pursued by the Lancers, who dispersed them for the time among the hills. About one o'clock the order to retire was given by the bugles, as the Hasheen Wells were completely commanded by the redoubts held by the Surrey men. This battle of Hasheen, in which the enemy lost about 1000 men, cost Graham's force only one officer and eight non-coms. and men killed, and three officers and thirty-six non-coms. and men wounded.

The British general's next task, before advancing on Tamai, was to establish a post in the desert between that place and Hasheen. On March 22nd, the Berkshire and some of the Royal Marines, the Indian Infantry, a detachment of the Naval Brigade, some Royal Engineers, a squadron of the 5th Lancers and four Gardner guns were sent out from Suakin under Sir J. M'Neill, moving in two squares, the British in front, towards the south-west. At 6 miles from Suakin, on a clear space of ground called Tofrik, the general proceeded to construct three contiguous zeribas for the reception of 2000 camels and two flanking battalions of defence. When the work was not quite completed, at 2.50 p.m., as the men were taking some food after their arduous march and labour, the enemy suddenly came down in force with frightful yells. The cavalry outposts rushed in, under a heavy fire from he foe, and the British were thus utterly surprised.

Thousands of Arabs had been, in fact, lying hidden among the bush and the rocks around, while our men, in their shirt sleeves, were toiling at the zeribas. It was a critical time, and nothing but British coolness and courage saved the force from annihilation. General M'Neill had a very narrow escape as he entered one of the flanking zeribas, followed by the rush of Arabs. The plain towards Suakin was already covered with riderless horses, mules, and camels rushing on in wild terror. The zeriba entered by M'Neill was the chief object of attack, and the interior became a scene of desperate conflict, in which a score of bluejackets and Indians fell, mingled with dead horses, camels and mules: alongside of these lay, however, when the dead were counted, 120 Arabs. Outside the zeribas a rough, rallying square was formed by two companies of the Berkshires, and the Arab rush was met with so steady a fire, reserved until the whites of the eyes could be seen, that the enemy fell in regular lines like corn under the reaper. In twenty minutes' time, the British slowly withdrew within the defences, leaving over 200 foemen on the ground. At the Marines' zeriba, one of the flanking works, a terrible conflict was waged. The 17th Bengal Native Infantry, appalled by the Arab yells, fairly broke and ran, and there was a hideous scene of demoralised men mixed up with wounded and struggling baggage animals, as the enemy hewed with swords and thrust with spears on all sides. The most desperate hand-to-hand fighting went on, ending in the slaughter of every Arab that entered the zeriba, to the number of above a hundred warriors. The camp followers suffered severely in the attacks of the foe, which came from all sides except that towards Suakin. The credit of the Indian troops was saved by the splendid courage of the 15th Sikhs and the 28th Bombay Infantry, who maintained an unbroken line, and swept the Arabs away by their terrible volleys, laying

hundreds of men low in front of their position. During the flight towards Suakin of the baggage animals, pursued by the enemy in great force, good service was done by Major Graves, heading a squadron each of the 20th Hussars and the 9th Bengal Lancers. He dashed among the Arabs and slaughtered many, driving the rest back towards the zeribas. The battle of Tofrik lasted about twenty minutes, and cost the Arabs at least 1500 men killed and some hundreds of wounded, out of an attacking force of 5000 men. The victors' loss, owing to the surprise, was very severe. There were 6 officers and 3 sergeants killed, and 3 of each wounded; 55 rank and file killed, 57 wounded and 14 missing of the British alone. The Indian brigade was weakened by 2 British and 2 native officers, and 49 non-coms. and men killed; 10 missing and 90 wounded. The camp followers had 33 killed, 124 missing and 19 wounded. Over 500 camels were returned as killed or missing. The scene of battle was a ghastly sight beneath the bright moon, and a weird effect arose from time to time as a broad band of electric light from H.M.S. *Dolphin*, 6 miles away at Suakin, swept over the plain. In the morning the brigade of Guards, under Sir Gerald Graham in person, marched into camp in magnificent array. The campaign had nothing else worthy the name of battle. In a smart action at Dhakdul, the New South Wales contingent showed great courage, but the rest was nothing but marches and skirmishes, zeriba-making, escort of convoys and the laying of railway. Osman Digna's headquarters, found empty at Tamai, were destroyed, and the whole matter ended in the British Government's abandonment of the railway project, after 15 miles of line had been laid. The word had gone forth at Westminster for retirement from the Sudan, a garrison being left at Suakin alone to maintain a hold on the Red Sea littoral. The honour of the British army, navy, and marines had

been throughout nobly maintained by officers and men. The failures were due solely to incompetence, imbecility and vacillation in other quarters not often equalled in British history.

It was on October 23rd 1884 that the Mahdi reached Omdurman, and pressed in person the siege of the fort there and of Khartum. The Omdurman garrison were soon compelled to surrender from famine, and Khartum was then invested more closely than ever. Day by day, from the roof of the palace, the gallant, doomed defender looked northwards for the relief which never came. His garrison grew faint-hearted from sheer hunger. The enemy's guns were able to shell the palace, and under the hole where the first shot struck the wall Gordon inscribed the date as a remembrance. The end came on January 26th 1885. Three hours before daybreak the Arabs made a final attack. The Baggara and other fighting tribes in the Mahdi's army had been greatly enraged by the sight of the wounded from Abu-Klea, and demanded to be led to the assault. In deep darkness, after the setting of the moon, the ramparts were taken with the feeblest resistance from men disheartened and debilitated by hunger, and as the winter dawn was breaking, the enemy had arrived near the palace. Over 50,000 furious assailants were pitted against 5000 defenders and 40,000 unarmed inhabitants, and the city was soon in their possession. Of the precise mode of Gordon's death different accounts are given. According to one witness who was in the city, he went alone to meet the men entering the palace, and was run through the body by the huge spear of the first Arab who encountered him. According to other testimony, he was going with a small party of soldiers and servants towards the church of the Austrian Mission, to the east of the palace, a building which had been for some months the reserve magazine, and died under a volley of musketry fired at close range

by a party of Arabs who issued from a neighbouring street. What is certain is, that his gory head was sent to the Mahdi, flung with fierce joy at the feet of Slatin Pasha to convince him that the British hero was really dead, and then hung on a tree in Omdurman, exposed to the curses of the fanatical mob. The massacre in the town went on for six hours, causing the deaths of some thousands of persons, and foreign Christians, including the Austrian and Greek Consuls, were put to death with savage cruelty. Many women and children perished, and both free persons and slaves were tortured in order to force indication of the hiding-places of money and other treasures. The women and girls of the best looks, according to Arab ideas of beauty, were divided among the Mahdi, the three khalifas, and the emirs. Hundreds of prisoners died at Omdurman of starvation and disease. In the course of a year or two Khartum was reduced to ruins, and the wood of the windows, balconies and doors was conveyed to Omdurman, with the burnt brick of the houses. The only buildings spared were the palace, the arsenal and the mission house, and the once thriving and populous capital of the Sudan became a mere heap of ruinous mud huts, the ground everywhere covered with a growth of large bushes of prickly thorn.

The hour of success, like the hour of trial, is the grand test of human character. The Mahdi—once the ascetic saint of the island on the Nile; the restorer of Islâm to its ancient purity; the preacher of righteousness—having attained the height of power in the Eastern Sudan, and confirmed the belief in his divine mission, betook himself to a life of gross debauchery. Lapped in luxurious ease and splendour of raiment, perfumes, eating and drinking, in which he was followed by most of his emirs, the Mahdi grew outrageously stout, and on June 22nd 1885 he died of fatty degeneration of the heart. The fanatics were astounded by this event, and some began to understand that

the man was nothing but a lying impostor. He left behind him a legacy of woe in many thousands of murdered men, women and children; hundreds of ravaged villages and towns; widespread poverty and famine; the victims and results of a wild and fanatical war into which he had cajoled or forced the people of the Sudan, bringing ruin on the land, and transferring the hapless inhabitants, on his death, to the rule of a remorseless tyrant. His successor, by the Mahdi's own nomination, was the Khalifa Abdullah, acknowledged by the two other Khalifas as the 'Khalifat el Mahdi,' or Mahdi's successor. All opponents were put down, and the new wielder of power in the Sudan brought forward, as his instruments of military force, the cruel people known as the Baggaras, slave-raiding, mongrel Arabs who made little pretence of following the religious fanaticism of the real and zealous Mahdists, and instituted the reign of terror, with the breaking up of tribal systems, vividly described by Slatin Pasha, ten years a prisoner in the country, in his *Fire and Sword in the Sudan.* The condition of Berber in December 1897, with its ruined streets and roofless, crumbling houses, thirteen years and more after its capture by the Mahdists, when it was a wealthy and important place, a far greater trade centre than Khartum, was an eloquent proof of the ways of the Baggaras. These savage wretches torture and mutilate their victims before slaying them, and never enter a village to make a raid for provisions and other plunder without indulging in the most wanton and needless cruelty towards the helpless inhabitants. A large part of the country became almost devoid of population, and all who remained were ready to welcome the intervention of any power that could effect their deliverance from so atrocious a tyranny.

On the accession of the Khalifa to the Mahdi's power, Mahdiism had become divided into the two separate parties of the Baggaras, or 'Arabs of the Sudan,' as they styled

themselves, and the Jaalin, Danagla and other tribes on the White Nile. The invasion of Egypt had been part of the Mahdi's plans, and when the town of Dongola was evacuated by the British forces in June 1885, the emir who had conquered Berber took possession of the province, and was defeated in December at Giniss by British and Egyptian troops. By the fall of Sennaar the Khalifa was enabled to send forward more troops against Egypt, and in November 1886 Dongola was occupied by the Dervishes. The Khalifa Abdullah was greatly irritated in the spring of 1887 by the non-receipt of any reply to letters addressed to Queen Victoria, the Sultan of Turkey, and the Khedive of Egypt, summoning those potentates to adopt Mahdiism and submit to him, under penalty of suffering the same fate as Gordon and Hicks Pasha. The Egyptians had retired to Wadi-Halfa, which became for ten years the boundary between Upper Egypt and the Eastern Sudan, and the Khalifa's scheme of invading the country and taking condign vengeance on the Khedive, on the Khedive's suzerain at Constantinople, and on his protectress in the British Isles, was frustrated by revolt in Darfur, war with Abyssinia, internal dissensions and other troubles. There were Dervish raids from time to time on Egyptian subjects dwelling on the Nile between Assuan and Korosko, but no serious effort was made against Egypt until 1889, when the revolt in Darfur had been suppressed and success won against Abyssinia. One of the most determined and fanatical emirs, Nejumi, was placed in command of a force composed of very different elements from those which had conquered in the days of the Mahdi. Many of the Dervishes had no regard for Mahdiism, holding that its founder had, by dying, proved himself to be false, with all his prophecies of joys in paradise for men who died in behalf of the cause. They were not attracted to the conflict by hope of booty, as experience had shown that valuable plunder went solely to the Khalifa and his emirs.

The main body of Nejumi's forces, in fact, went into war from fear of the Khalifa's wrath. The men composing the army had no cohesion in tribal ties, and they were going to encounter Egyptian troops now well trained by British officers. Between Dongola and Wadi-Halfa the invaders were attacked by Colonel Wodehouse, and defeated with the loss of about 1000 men and several emirs. The Sirdar of the Egyptian army, General Grenfell, then wrote to Nejumi, knowing the wretched state of his troops from scanty food, urging him to abandon a useless contest and make his surrender. A defiant reply was sent, and the advance continued. At Toski the Khalifa's general was met by Grenfell at the head of the Egyptian army on August 3rd, and was utterly defeated, with the death of himself and most of his emirs, and the capture of a host of men, women and children. The destruction of Hicks Pasha and his men was thus amply avenged, and the crushing blow made an end of the Khalifa's plans of conquest in Egypt.

On the Red Sea coast Osman Digna, after the battles of Hasheen and Tofrik in 1885, continued to harass the garrison at Suakin by night attacks, and to devastate the neighbouring country. In January 1887, having gathered about 4000 men near Kassala, he occupied Handub and besieged Suakin. Kitchener Pasha, then commanding on the Red Sea coast of the Sudan, was severely wounded in an attack on Handub, but he happily survived to do glorious work in later days against the Khalifa's chief lieutenant. Reinforced again from Kassala, Osman Digna occupied Tokha in January 1889, and was then allowed to open commercial relations with Suakin. At the close of 1890 hostilities were resumed, and the Dervishes, under Osman, were completely defeated early in 1891 by Egyptian and British troops, with the occupation of Handub and Tokha. The Khalifa was in a state of consternation, fearing the loss of Berber and

Dongola, but the military authorities in Egypt were satisfied with the success obtained. They fortified Tokha, and securely held the place, being in close communication with the tribes on the road from Suakin to Berber, with the way open for an advance at any future time.

The Khalifa, with the practical abandonment, and the retention only of the name, of Madhiism, set aside most of his predecessor's decrees. The old towns were destroyed in order to cast the former period of Egyptian rule into oblivion. A new Berber arose just to the north of the former town, and Omdurman, the place of the death and burial of the Mahdi, became the capital instead of Khartum. The tomb of the impostor, with its dome rising high above the mud hovels and straw huts, is the loftiest building in the Sudan. Among the other chief edifices are the Khalifa's palace, and a great arsenal of burnt brick stored with guns, rifles and ammunition, surrounded by a high wall, and carefully guarded day and night by detachments of troops. The market is the resort of merchants from all parts of the Eastern Sudan. The town contains people of every race in the whole Sudan — Felláta, and natives of Bornu, Wadai, Borgu and Darfur; Sudanese from near Suakin and Massawah (Massowa); negroes of all shades; Arabs of every tribe—Baggara, Hadendoa, Jaalin, Danagla and many more; Egyptians and Abyssinians, Turks, Arabs from Mecca, Syrians, Indians, Jews and Europeans. Arabic is the universal language, spoken in its pure form or in corrupt dialects by all free inhabitants of the Sudan. The population may number 150,000. The suffering due to the tyrannical rule of the Khalifa was aggravated in 1889 and the following year by famine causing thousands of deaths. The ruler paid no heed whatever to the misery of the people at large, only taking good care that the Baggaras—the supporters of

his throne—should be amply fed amidst the prevailing want. Himself a Baggara of sensual life, intensely proud and vain, very cruel and quick-tempered, justly distrustful of those who surround him, passing from a phase of inconstancy to one of resolution, jealous of his authority, an eager hearer of calumny, the Khalifa Abdullah has maintained his tyrannical power by a free use of spies, who permeate every part of Sudanese society. A bodyguard of 500 black slaves, armed with Remington rifles, attends all his rides. His council comprises all the chief sheikhs of the great Sudan tribes. The governors or emirs of all the provinces are Baggara, with minor emirs under them, and hold supreme civil and military rule, reporting events in frequent visits to Omdurman. Extortion, attended with horrible cruelty, is practised by the tax-gatherers. Bestial immorality and consequent disease are rampant. The prisons are mere *Infernos;* the numerous slaves have a wretched life. The outcome of the Khalifa's despotism—in the words of one who, as a European detained in Omdurman for ten years, and a successful fugitive thence to Wadi-Halfa, had the best means of knowing whereof he testified—has been that 'Mahdiism was founded on violence and plunder, and by plunder and violence it is carried on. In some districts half the people are dead; in others, the loss of life is even greater. Whole tribes have been completely blotted out, and in their places roam the wild beasts, spreading and increasing in fierceness and in numbers until they bid fair to finish the destruction of the human race.' We proceed now to narrate the operations which have of late years formed a part of Great Britain's answer to the same observer's passionate inquiries. 'How long shall this condition of affairs continue? Shall savagery and desolation continue for ever? Shall the roads remain always closed that lead from Wadi-Halfa and Suakin to the richest provinces of

Africa? How long shall Europe and Great Britain watch unmoved the outrages of the Khalifa and the destruction of the Sudan people?'

For some time prior to 1896 the Eastern Sudan had drawn the attention of British diplomatists, statesmen and military men. The international conditions in regard to Central Africa had been assuming a form which required grave consideration. It was possible that our position in Egypt, and the prosperity of that country, might be threatened through the seizure, by some other European power, of the territory at the head waters of the Nile. The Dervishes—the Baggaras of the Khalifa—were growing restless. The disastrous defeat of Italy in Abyssinia at the opening of 1896, with its evil effect on the native mind in Africa, hastened the adoption of the forward policy in reference to the Sudan which was indicated by the despatch of the expedition under Sir Herbert Kitchener, Sirdar of the Egyptian Army, attended by Major Wingate, the chief of the 'Intelligence Department,' and by Slatin Pasha, the hero of a long captivity among and ultimate escape from the Dervishes of the Sudan. News had arrived that an army, under Osman Digna, was advancing from the river Atbara towards Kassala, then in Italian possession, and that the defeated Italian general was wholly unable to help the garrison. The object of the movement directed by General Kitchener was, in the first place, to create a diversion for the Italians, and then to recover the province of Dongola, and thus protect the Upper Nile valley, between Assuan and Wadi-Halfa, from Dervish raids. On March 21st 1896 the Sirdar started with the 1st Battalion of the North Staffordshire Regiment for Wadi-Halfa. In 1885, on the evacuation of Dongola province, the frontier line had been a long, sandy hollow 5 miles south of Halfa, but after Grenfell's victory at Toski in 1889, Sarras, 30 miles further south, had become an advanced post in the desert, the railway thus

far being kept in working order. The line had been carried along the eastern bank of the Nile to Akasha, 50 miles south again, but it had been gradually destroyed by the Dervishes, who pulled up the metals and left them on the ground, and took away most of the sleepers as fuel, with the lighter ironwork in the shape of spikes, fish-plates and nuts. Colonel Hunter, commanding in the frontier district, went forward from Sarras Fort with Sudanese infantry and Egyptian gunners, and occupied Akasha without opposition. The re-laying of the line to that point, as a base of operations against Dongola, was at once begun, and the iron road and the telegraph wires went gradually forward, the operations being viewed with great satisfaction by the people, who had long suffered from Dervish raids. Hatred and fear of the master of the Baggaras were everywhere found; weapons ready to the invader's hands when the people were assured that there would be no more withdrawal from conquered territory. Many 'friendlies' among the tribes were engaged patrolling on each bank of the great river, receiving pay and a rifle, supplying their own camels and food, keeping the desert routes clear, and giving due notice of Dervish attempts on the communications. Stern wheel steamers were sent out from England, armour-plated, and carrying three quick-firing guns, with two steel-plated steam vessels as escorts, each carrying from 150 to 200 infantry, the side-plates being loop-holed for rifles.

On May 1st, in a sharp skirmish with a force of 1000 Dervish foot and 250 horse and camel men near Akasha, the Egyptian cavalry and Sudanese infantry showed great courage, dispersing the enemy and taking a large number of spears and swords. It was needful to wait until the rise of the Nile allowed river work to assist the land operations, and not until the first week in June was an advance made from Akasha, to which the railway had

now been carried. On the evening of Saturday, June 6th, the troops under Sir Herbert Kitchener left Akasha in two bodies. The main column, about 7000 strong, was composed of three brigades of Egyptians and Sudanese, under the Sirdar's own command, and marched over difficult ground by the river. A second column, of 2500 men, under Major Burn-Murdoch, comprised 800 Egyptian cavalry, a camel corps of 670 riflemen, 700 Sudanese infantry carried on camels to the scene of action, and a horse battery of six guns. This force went by the desert route, to the left of the Sirdar's line of march, in order to take the enemy in flank, and be ready for an immediate and close pursuit. The Dervish force was known to be posted at Ferkeh (or Farket), a large village of about a thousand huts, running for nearly a mile along the river bank, 18 miles south of Akasha. The hostile army was composed of about 4000 picked men, including the black riflemen, and Baggara, Jaalin and Dongolese tribesmen, all armed with sword or spear, and many with Remington rifles. There were also some hundreds of camel men and cavalry. The river column bivouacked about 3 miles from the enemy's position, and in the brief twilight, at 5 a.m. on Sunday June 7th, the attack on Ferkeh began. The Dervishes were completely surprised. Burn-Murdoch's guns opened from the hills east of the village at the moment when the Sirdar's troops began to use their rifles, and at all points the enemy were forced back as they rushed out against the advancing troops. The Sudanese and Egyptians stormed the village in the most brilliant style, the enemy making a desperate resistance, and their emirs vainly throwing away their lives. By seven o'clock the fight was over, and Burn-Murdoch and his men started on a chase which lasted for twenty-two hours, preventing all chance of rallying, and strewing the river bank and the adjacent desert with Dervish dead. Suarda, 54 miles from Akasha, was occupied at dawn

on Monday morning, and the expedition had thus won half the ground from Wadi-Halfa to Dongola.

This battle of Ferkeh was a success of great importance. Not only had the Egyptian troops for the first time assailed the Dervishes after marching against them, instead of resisting an invader's attack, but they had given conclusive proofs of the value of twelve years' training under British officers. Their discipline on the march was perfect. Their steadiness and courage in action were admirable. The fire and bayonet work of *fellahin* had driven the fierce warriors of the desert from a strong position in utter rout, and Egyptian cavalry and camel men had completed the foe's discomfiture. The moral effect throughout the Sudan was very great. The guns of Ferkeh sounded a first knell of doom to the tyrant of Omdurman, and gave a key-note to a song of deliverance for all who were groaning under his cruel sway. At the cost of 20 Egyptians slain and 81 wounded, and of 1 British officer hurt, the Dervish army had been broken to pieces, with about 1500 men killed in the battle and pursuit, and 500 taken prisoners, and having lost 44 emirs slain and 4 captured out of 62 present in the battle. During July and August the men of the expedition were engaged in making the railway onwards, and moving slowly up towards Dongola, with some loss and suffering from cholera and severe storms. Nearly every position which might have been held by the foe was found deserted. Tribesmen and some emirs came into the Sirdar's camp and surrendered. At Hafir the fire of some forts on the river bank, supported by riflemen, was overcome by the gunboats in a two hours' contest, and on September 23rd, after some shelling by the gunboats, the Dervishes fled from Dongola, and the town was occupied amid enthusiastic cries from the people. Nearly a thousand prisoners were taken by the Egyptian cavalry sent in pursuit, and all the guns, with large

quantities of ammunition, weapons, armour, documents, money and other property, were captured in the town. The campaign had been a triumph of organisation and of good conduct in the troops. The province of Dongola was restored to the rule of the Khedive, in a condition of utter ruin from Dervish tyranny, robbed of all the camels in which it was formerly so rich, with little tillage left, and to a large extent depopulated, but likely, in possession of a reformed Egypt, to become again a fruitful and prosperous land.

The campaign of 1897 continued the good work against Dervish power. On August 7th the little town of Abu Hammed, situated at the point where the Nile turns south-west for its great bend to Korti, was attacked by Sudanese and Egyptian troops, under Major-General Hunter, one of the ablest officers, and the most experienced, in Sirdar Kitchener's command. The storming of the place was brilliantly performed. It was held by about 1000 Arabs, including 150 horsemen and 500 riflemen. At dawn of day, the high ground overlooking the large village was carried by an advance in line. This success was followed by a stubborn house-to-house conflict, continuing for an hour, during which the assailants were sometimes compelled to use artillery. The narrow winding alleys in the network of crowded houses were the scenes of hot work with the bayonet. When the enemy's horsemen had lost half their number, the remainder fled, followed by about 100 infantry, the sole survivors, save a considerable number of prisoners. Arms, standards, camels, horses and other property were taken with the Dervish commander. The 10th Sudanese Regiment had 14 killed and 34 wounded out of a total of 21 killed and 61 wounded on the victorious side, and the army had to lament the loss of Major Sidney, commanding the 10th; and of his second, Lieutenant Fitz-Clarence. One Egyptian officer was killed and three

were severely wounded. The capture of Abu Hammed was an important success, enabling the railway to be pushed forward from that end, and permitting steamers and other craft to be hauled up the cataracts between Merawi and Abu Hammed without any risk of Dervish attacks. A month later, on September 7th, Berber was occupied without opposition by friendly Arabs, who transferred it to the charge of General Hunter's force, the enemy having retired southwards to Metemmeh. Four gunboats went up from Abu Hammed to the new acquisition.

A change had come over the face of affairs since the capture of Dongola in the previous year. Everywhere signs of growing prosperity appeared. An industrious and contented people rejoiced in plentiful crops due to careful tillage. Along the course of the river, as far as Ed-Debbeh, below Korti, civil tribunals had been established, and the inhabitants dwelt secure under the protection of police. Dongola was being rebuilt, and the re-opening of trade was marked by a great native demand for British stuffs and hardware. At Ed-Debbeh, one of the nearest posts to Omdurman by the desert route, an impregnable fort close to the river edge was completed. The line of river garrisons included posts at Dongola, Ed-Debbeh, Korti, Merawi, (Meroweh), Abu Hammed, and Berber, with five gunboats patrolling the Nile between the two latter places. A series of screen-posts, held by friendly Arabs, was established across the Bayuda Desert, between Korti and Metemmeh, completely covering the river from the west—the half-way wells at Gakdul being held by Jaalin tribesmen, sworn foes of the Khalifa's Baggaras. The conditions of campaigning in the Sudan were illustrated at Merawi on September 21st, when, after ten days of intense heat, the air became perfectly still, the birds ceased to sing, the heat grew intolerable, the clouds

gathered, and two walls of dust were seen approaching, one from the south, another from the east. In five minutes' time a hurricane was blowing. The two walls of sand united, and sped on straight for the middle of the camp, with a noise like that of a great drum, combining with the wind to create an appalling roar. For half-an-hour the terrific turmoil lasted, the eyes, nostrils. and mouths of all the men in camp being then choked with sand, the tents blown down, and the Nile waters lashed into furious waves.

In October, Sir Herbert Kitchener was able to state that the whole of the Eastern Sudan tribes had renounced Mahdiism, and that the railway from Wadi-Halfa, across the desert, had reached within 15 miles of Abu Hammed. The character of Dervish rule was shown in the treatment accorded by the Khalifa's men at Metemmeh to the population along the left bank of the Nile after a conflict with the Jaalin tribesmen who had embraced the Egyptian cause. The district was almost depopulated by the savage Baggaras. Every male inhabitant who could be found was butchered. All the best-looking women were taken for the harems, and 150 young girls were selected as a present to the Khalifa. Many women and children were disposed of by being flung into the river. A British eye-witness reports of Berber at that time as having excellent artificers in wood and leather; a brisk trade done in two large bazaars held daily; many wealthy resident merchants; types of all the different Sudanese tribes; and 'people unfeignedly delighted at our arrival, knowing it to be a guarantee of security for life and property.' To the east, a railway was being made from Trinkitat to Tokha, and caravans were leaving Suakin for Berber, to journey in peace through a country once in the possession of Osman Digna. That great trade route had been closed for fourteen years since November 1883, during which

period no European had travelled between the Red Sea coast at Suakin and the Nile. In November, the railway was completed to Abu Hammed, and the Sirdar was able to travel from Berber to Cairo in the space of six days.

The campaign of 1898 was one of great interest and importance. In the first days of the year spies from Omdurman reported that the Khalifa was preparing a large force to take the offensive against the Egyptian army, and the Sirdar resolved to strengthen his force by the addition of some British troops. The first battalions of the Royal Warwickshire, the Lincolnshire Regiment, and the Cameron Highlanders started from Cairo for the Upper Nile, and they were soon followed by the 1st Battalion of the Seaforth Highlanders from Malta. This reinforcement was put under the command of Major-General Gatacre, C.B., D.S.O., despatched from Aldershot, an officer in the prime of life, who had served in Burma and Chitral. The Egyptian troops at the front had by this time established a strong post at the mouth of the large river Atbara, flowing into the Nile from the east, about 25 miles south of Berber, with Ed-Damer on its south bank at the point of junction. The position was defended by a fort and other works, held by over 4000 men, with the gunboats at hand, rendering the place unassailable by any Dervish force. The railhead, or front end of the railway from Wadi-Halfa, had been carried to a distance of 10 miles south of Abu Hammed. On January 18th about 200 Dervish horsemen crossed the Atbara and attacked the village of Kenur, on the east bank of the Nile towards Berber, carrying off the cattle and women. The Egyptian Camel Corps and cavalry in the district, on report of this daring raid, started in pursuit, killing several of the Dervishes, dispersing the whole force, and recovering all the spoils. On February 1st the three battalions of British troops

were encamped on high ground near the railhead, with the weather severely cold at nights, under double tents, warm and snug, and the sick in the force were below one-tenth per cent. The brigade was kept actively engaged by General Gatacre in the practice of road-making, bridge-building, field-firing, and in other occupations. The railway was being carried ahead so rapidly that the camp was soon moved 20 miles further south to Abu Dis, about 30 miles south of Abu Hammed. The campaigning condition of the men was shown in a 17-mile march of the Warwicks by moonlight, part of the way through heavy sand, without a man falling out. The Lincolns and the Camerons did like work at the same time, and the men were described as being 'in magnificent condition, in great spirits, as hard as nails.' No spirits, beer, or other intoxicants were allowed in the regimental canteens, 'coffee-palaces' being kept continuously open. The rations of the men were, on General Gatacre's application, increased by one-third; the whole brigade had no serious case of illness, the utmost sanitary precautions being taken in a camp situated on a sandy plain sloping from a high bluff which rises near Abu Dis above a beautiful bend on the east bank, where the Nile runs in a broad, swift current with a wooded island in the middle.

At the end of February the Sirdar, Sir Herbert Kitchener, being then at Berber, received information that Mahmud, the Dervish general, had taken his whole force across the river from Metemmeh to Shendy, where he had been joined by Osman Digna. His intention was declared to be that of attacking the fortified camp on the Atbara above described, and the British troops were accordingly marched forward to Ginnanetti (Keneineiteh), about 24 miles north of Berber. Some Egyptian gunboats did a smart piece of work when Emir Mahmud was transferring his material in nuggars from Metemmeh

to Shendy. About 200 Dervish riflemen had been entrenched to cover the crossing, when one of the gunboats steamed quite close to the bush and swept the parapet with Maxim fire. A second gunboat sank one nuggar and captured two, and then, under cover of a fire from the Maxims, a detachment of the 15th Egyptian Battalion landed and 'cut out,' before Mahmud's eyes, a fourth nuggar lying in shallow water, close to the shore, about 20 yards from the Dervish entrenchment. The arrival of the British brigade, a few days later, at Berber was a stirring sight, as the black Sudanese battalions, in extended order, lined the road for three miles, and their bands played their British comrades in, amidst enthusiastic cheers for the Queen as the white troops marched through the market to the breakfast prepared by the Sudanese. The Khalifa's men were advancing northwards from Shendy under Mahmud and Osman Digna, and a smart affair occurred on March 13th, when Major Sitwell attacked a Dervish detachment on the island of Shebaliya, about 30 miles north of Shendy. The enemy were at first about 200 strong, afterwards largely reinforced, but the British officer, landing with 32 Egyptians, aided by the fire of a gunboat, ejected them from the position with the loss of nearly 40 men killed, at the cost of a serious wound for himself. The railway, on March 15th, had been carried to a point 73 miles south of Abu Hammed and 306 miles from Wadi-Halfa, greatly reducing transport difficulties. At this time a large consignment of alcoholic liquors was, contrary to regulations, brought through by some Greek merchants from Suakin to Berber, and the cases being there confiscated by General Hunter, with the approval of the Sirdar, the bottles and jars were broken and the contents poured out on the sand, as dangerous to the health and discipline of the troops. On March 17th the whole force, British and Egyptian, was paraded in battle array, and

inspected by Sir Herbert Kitchener at Kenur, about 20 miles south of Berber, presenting a magnificent spectacle, as the British and native troops, in fine condition, manœuvred several miles into the desert. The enemy were known to be slowly advancing towards the Atbara, and the whole force, now joined by the Seaforth Highlanders, were eagerly looking forward to a decisive action.

On Sunday, March 20th, after a march of 11 miles across the desert, with cavalry and horse artillery on the front and flanks, and the British brigade leading under cover of 12-pounders and Maxims at the corners of the square, the whole army arrived at the Atbara, directed by a native guide, checked by a staff officer with compass and sextant. The Anglo-Egyptian force then moved some miles eastwards up the course of the river, and some smart fighting took place between their cavalry, with horse artillery, and some hundreds of Dervish horsemen, who were found to indulge in the practice, new with them, of firing from horseback in the act of charging, and also of dismounting to fire. The enemy were driven off with considerable loss, after seven of our men had been killed and eight wounded. It was evident that the Dervish main force was near at hand, but a general engagement was still delayed through their withdrawal further up the Atbara northern bank. Before the end of March, Mahmud and his men were heard of as strongly entrenched in the middle of dense bush at a position 30 miles up the river, very short of food, and, as it seemed, afraid either to advance or to retreat. Sir Herbert Kitchener, hoping to induce the enemy to attack, dealt a severe blow at Shendy, the town opposite Metemmeh. The place was held by about 700 Baggaras, left as a garrison on the advance of the main force of the Dervishes to the Atbara. Three gunboats were sent up the river, carrying the 15th Egyptian battalion under

Major Hickman, and 150 Jaalin 'friendlies.' The enemy were drawn up in battle array between the river and the town, and being attacked in flank with a heavy fire, supported by that of the gunboats, they withdrew towards Khartum, pursued for 20 miles, with the loss of 160 men. The Egyptian force then returned to Atbara fort, taking with them 650 men, women and children, and a large quantity of war material, animals and grain. The town of Shendy was destroyed by fire, and the only places of retreat southwards left for Mahmud were Khartum and Omdurman. The Dervishes were, in fact, completely 'cornered' in their position on the Atbara, unable to move in any direction to obtain supplies by raiding, with a powerful force at hand to strike them. The Sirdar, in his camp at Ras Hudi, near the north bank of the river, resolved to drive or draw his enemy, if possible, into the open ground, and on March 30th he despatched General Hunter with a strong force of cavalry and infantry, supported by Maxims and horse artillery, to make a reconnaissance of the hostile position.

After a body of the enemy's cavalry had been driven in, the horse battery halted at about 1000 yards from the bush, and opened fire, and the Maxims swept the front of the Dervish zeriba, which was found to be three miles long, with rifle-pits formed round a hill, and several tiers of entrenchments, all well prepared for defence. The position was full of men, and the trenches were crowded with riflemen, in successive rows, one behind the other. No return was made to the fire, and after the opposing forces had for some time gazed on one another in silence, General Hunter and his staff, who had advanced to within 200 yards, retired, and the force returned to camp. On April 5th another reconnaissance was made by the same General, with a force of Egyptian cavalry, guns and Maxims. The enemy then came out in great strength of mounted men and infantry from both ends of the long position, making an attempt to

outflank and surround their foe. The cavalry, under Colonel Broadwood, charged home twice, turning and slashing right and left among the Dervishes, until they broke and fled. The fire of the Maxims was mainly effective in laying low about 200 men. The British force then withdrew, with a loss of 20 men in killed and wounded.

The decisive moment was near at hand. As the enemy seemed resolved to await attack, Sir Herbert Kitchener, a man of supreme courage, coolness and self-command, trained in Egypt under Sir Evelyn Wood, and possessed of unconquerable energy, a commander who had already shown admirable skill in the use of his troops, an excellent organiser as well as tactician, made up his mind to hurl his forces against the formidable position held by about 12,000 men well supplied with artillery. On the evening of Thursday, April 7th, the Anglo-Egyptian army marched out from the Umdabiya camp, and moved in perfect silence across a wide neck of desert, in brigade squares, towards the Dervish position at Nakheila. A fresh wind caused the line of march to be enveloped in sand and dust as thick as a fog off Newfoundland. About 9 p.m. the men, after covering 4 miles of ground, lay down to bivouac, and at 1.15 a.m. on Good Friday, April 8th, they were quietly roused and formed rank, the utterance or unspoken thought of every man—British, Egyptian and Sudanese—being 'Remember Gordon and Khartum.' Between four and five o'clock, at about a mile distance from the enemy's zeriba, the troops were halted for a brief rest, and then formed up for battle, with the Warwicks on the left; the Camerons next in a long line, with the Seaforths behind them in the centre; the Lincolns to their right; and then the Egyptian and Sudanese battalions, some 14,000 strong. The 24 guns and the Maxims were to right or left, in rear, or in the intervals of columns. The cavalry and horse-artillery were half a mile away to the left, with two Egyptian battalions, to protect the force from any wild

rush of the 4000 or more Baggara horse. At dawn, about 5 a.m., the men arrived within 800 yards of the enemy, and a score of banners and some hundreds of Dervishes were seen upon the banked earth in front of the trenches. A row of storks and huge vultures was visible near by, and herds of startled gazelle and other game moved away on the left. As the sun rose a great stir came in the Dervish encampment, mounted men and foot hurrying from point to point, and horsemen issuing in hundreds from the south (left) corner of the zeriba. In front was a long row of cut thorny mimosa; 20 or 30 yards behind that a low palisade of palm logs; then the main, encircling trench of earth; behind that other trenches, a few low, square earth-works, and many clusters of *tukals* (or *tokuls*), meaning camp huts or shelters, made of palm branch or grass. Beyond, all lay hid in dense bush and palms, with the steep-banked Atbara in the rear. At 6.10, in broad day-light, the guns were run to the front by the intervals between the brigades, and then from Armstrongs and Krupps, Maxims and rocket-tubes, a stream of fire was poured in for over an hour. The palisades were breached at several points; the side of a fort was blown away; groups of tukals were set on fire. Scarcely a shot came from the enemy's position as the men crouched in their trenches and pits for safety from the deadly hail.

About eight o'clock the Sirdar rode along the line, and final orders for the assault were given. Sir Herbert Kitchener and his staff took post on a central knoll about 1000 yards from the zeriba; General Gatacre and his staff dismounted; Major-General Hunter, the second in command, and other leaders, remained on horseback. The bugles sounded the general advance; the bands of the Egyptian battalions began to play; the pipers struck up 'The March of the Cameron Men.' General Gatacre, in a brief and stirring address, told the troops that they were, beyond any question, to go right through the zeriba, and

drive the Dervishes into the river. Colonel Murray of the Seaforths simply said, 'The news of victory must be in London to-night.' From right to left of the whole line blacks and whites sent a shout of challenge, and then they steadily advanced amidst a shower of bullets from the foe. The men dropped fast, and stretcher-bearers and doctors were soon busy. The Camerons halted now and then to fire volleys by sections; the Egyptian gunners brought their weapons up within forty yards of the zeriba, firing shrapnel and case; the Sudanese battalions shot fast and furiously as they hurried on. At closer quarters the enemy's fire, fortunately too high at many points, was a hail of bullets from Remington and repeating rifles, balls from elephant-guns, and buckshot. The front of the zeriba was reached, and General Gatacre was the first to lay hands thereon, just escaping death from a Dervish spear as Private Cross of the Camerons shot the man who wielded it. On the right, General Hunter, helmet in hand, and cheering, led on his men. The Cameronians in front, in their impetuous rage, had flung away the hand-guards or thick gloves, the ladders and blankets, distributed among them for the less painful crossing and pulling away of the mimosa thorn bushes, in order to make openings for themselves and their comrades in the rear. Storming on, the Camerons tore away the prickly obstacles with their bare hands, under a terrible fire from the trenches. The palisade was broken down; first and second lines, and in some places a third line, of trenches were crossed, the whole ground between and behind them being honey-combed with pits of various shapes and sizes, full of Dervishes armed with rifles, spears and swords. Inside the defences, as the assailants pushed on, after shooting or bayoneting every man they came across, a torrent of fire came from every point, and an indescribable din of shouts and yells, the heavy boom of guns, the 'purr' of Maxims, the crash of Dervish mines, the rattle of rifles filled the air

as our men did their work against foes wielding rifles that sent bullets, and spears that dealt thrusts, from pits on every side, and met death or wounds from javelins and knives of boomerang form that whizzed through the air.

The Sudanese and the Egyptians rivalled their white comrades in courage, and 'nothing could stop that astonishing infantry.' Deeds of daring and devotion were many. Captain Findlay of the Camerons, a huge man, over six feet two in stature, revolver in one hand and sword in the other, sprang over the palisade and first trench, the latter crammed with Dervishes two deep. In advance of his men, busy in shooting and stabbing as they strove to keep pace with their leader, he went half a dozen yards and fell, shot through the heart, speared at the same moment from a trench. Every foeman there quickly died under Cameron thrusts. Captain Urquhart of the same noble regiment, mortally shot as he leaped over a five-foot trench, cried to the men who stopped to pick him up, 'Never mind me, my lads! Go on, Company F.' Private Chalmers, another Cameron, fought bayonet to sword with an Emir grasping a banner and spear, and shouting to his tribesmen. A sword-cut was parried, and a bayonet-thrust sent the Arab to earth, while Chalmers tore the flag from his grasp. As the high ground in the middle of the zeriba was reached in the advance to fulfil Gatacre's orders, a terrible fire of rifles came from an inner mimosa defence, from tukals, thick bush, and a fort, the whole being a kind of citadel or inner keep of the Dervish leader Mahmud. It was held by a thousand picked men. The Lincolns, the Camerons and the 11th Sudanese had to bear the brunt of the storm of bullets. A company of the black troops dashed at one corner, and was all but destroyed, losing 100 men in killed and wounded. Other companies took up the task. Piper Stewart of the Camerons leaped on a knoll and struck up the war tune of the regiment amid a rain of

bullets, until he fell pierced by seven wounds. The position was ultimately turned and forced by the troops, and the Dervishes made for the Atbara, falling by hundreds under the fire of the Lee-Metford rifles. The pursuit was carried to the river, amid the palms and mimosa, and many of the enemy fell under fire as, after scrambling down the thirty-foot bank, they made for the white sands, some hundreds of yards broad, which then, in the dry season, formed most of the river bed. The enemy's horse had vanished south, up the Atbara bank, when they saw the regiments storming the first line of entrenchments.

The battle of Atbara, one of the most brilliant achievements in the history of Africa, was won after a furious fight of less than half an hour from the advance to the victorious piercing of the position from front to rear. The Dervishes lost about 3000 men killed and 4000 prisoners, the latter including the leader Mahmud, who was brought in under a guard of the 10th Sudanese as the Sirdar was writing his despatches. The stalwart, haughty, bare-headed captive, wearing an Emir's decorated robe, and short, baggy, cotton drawers stained with blood from a bayonet thrust; six feet in height, with mixed Arab and negroid features, about thirty years of age, nephew of the Khalifa, had been found hiding in a hole dug out under a bed. Osman Digna, his fellow-commander, had, as usual, taken good care of his own skin in going off with the cavalry as the assault began. The victors had lost about 520 men in killed and wounded, of whom the British force, only one-fifth in number of the Egyptian and Sudanese troops, counted 112. The Camerons alone had 58 casualties, including 2 officers and 10 men killed. Among the enemy's dead were found 11 principal emirs, including Bishara, formerly Governor of Dongola, and a large number of inferior chieftains. The spoils comprised 10 guns, thou-

sands of rifles, over 100 banners, war drums, and a large number of donkeys, sold in camp at a few shillings each, being fine animals worth ten times the money. On the banks of the Atbara the Sudanese and the British met, and ceasing fire at the fugitives in response to whistle and call, exchanged congratulations, the blacks dancing with delight, running in amongst the British troops, cheering, waving their rifles aloft, and shaking hands. As the men returned through the zeriba to the open ground, the Sirdar and his staff rode up amidst a storm of cheers and the waving of helmets and tarbooshes on the ends of rifles, and the victorious general then thanked the men for their splendid behaviour. In the afternoon the three British officers and eighteen British soldiers who fell were buried on a gravelly slope near the enemy's zeriba, the graves being covered with mimosa thorns to prevent desecration. After a rest from toil which had involved being afoot for more than twenty-four hours, the army marched back to Umdabiya camp.

The victory of the Atbara was a grand feat of arms; a hurricane of war which had blown a great Dervish army away in annihilation; a deadly blow dealt at barbarism; a triumph gained for humanity and civilisation. In the enemy's fortress there had been found the body of a cavalryman missing since General Hunter's reconnaissance. He had been taken alive, as the head, feet and hands, according to Dervish practice, had been cut off. In the trenches were seen numbers of blacks lying dead, chained by both hands and legs, put there with guns to fight and be killed. Others were found handcuffed in rows, placed in the front of the works, and compelled to use rifles against the assailants. Some prisoners were found in chains, and with forked sticks upon their necks, stretched lifeless on the open ground between the trenches and in front of Mahmud's inner fortress. A grand scene occurred on the entry of the Sirdar into Berber on April

13th, at the head of General Macdonald's brigade. The town was filled with people who had flocked in from miles around, lining the streets and massed upon the housetops. The main thoroughfare, three miles in length, lined with palm trees, was spanned with flags, every house being in some form decorated. After a salute of twenty-one guns from the horse artillery, the processional march began, Mahmud, with a large number of fellow-captives, following Sir Herbert Kitchener and his staff. Slatin Pasha, the Austrian officer who, as a ten years' captive among the Dervishes, had met Mahmud under far different circumstances for them both, was bidden by that haughty personage to 'wait until he got to Khartum.' His crafty colleague, Osman Digna, was not to get off scathless. As he retreated up the Atbara he was encountered by Major Benson, with 400 irregular 'friendlies,' from Kassala, and in the fighting which ensued Osman was wounded in the thigh, but managed to escape on a bare-backed horse, leaving behind his Dervish robe, coat of mail, several flags, and a large quantity of spears, rifles and ammunition. The Dervish fugitives with him lost 350 killed and about 500 prisoners. In May the British and Egyptian forces went into summer quarters south and north of Berber, and at that town, awaiting the rise of the Nile which should enable the gunboats to co-operate in the advance upon the Khalifa's stronghold—Omdurman. It was while this work was passing through the press that, in the first days of September 1898, the Sirdar and his officers, and the Anglo-Egyptian forces, in another brief campaign, gained further glory by operations culminating in the great victory which, after the lapse of nearly fourteen years, amply retrieved a former failure and catastrophe, and, by the capture of the Khalifa's capital and stronghold, set the flags of Great Britain and Egypt waving in triumph over Omdurman and Khartum.

Before leaving the Eastern Sudan we may note that

Kassala, occupied for some time by the Italians, was transferred, in December 1897, to Anglo-Egyptian possession. About 600 regular and irregular Askari troops passed from the Italian service to that of the Khedive, and under the command of British officers. In the 'scramble for Africa,' to be hereafter noticed, Italy had, in 1882, occupied the territory and bay of Assab on the south-west coast of the Red Sea. Three years later, when the Government of Egypt was occupied with the Mahdists, the European power took possession of Massawa (Massowah) to the north, midway between Suakin and Assab, thus preserving it from seizure by the Dervishes, as the British had kept Suakin. In advancing towards Kassala in 1893 the Italian troops came into conflict with the Dervishes at Agordat, about midway, due west, from Massowah. The place had been occupied in 1890 by General Baratieri, with the building of a fort commanding the roads from Kassala to the coast. Mahdist activity in 1893 was maintaining an army at Dongola threatening the Egyptian frontier, and another at Gedaref, south of Kassala, watching the Abyssinians and Italians. The adventurous Emir Gaïdum, one of the Khalifa's most trusted commanders, in charge of Kassala, had changed the armament and tactics of his Dervish forces, from spears and swords solely, to rifles, and from wild rushes to more regular attacks. His garrison included 1200 men armed with Remington breechloaders taken from the Egyptians. The army at Gedaref had several battalions armed with Remingtons and partly drilled in European style, along with great numbers of horse and foot carrying sword and spear, many of the cavalry also wearing complete suits of plate and chain armour.

Early in December 1893 Ahmed Ali, one of the Khalifa's best generals, had come from Khartum to Gedaref, and assumed the command, summoning to his standard all the tribesmen of the adjacent territory.

General Arimondi, in charge of Agordat, had two squadrons of cavalry, two batteries of mountain guns, seven companies of infantry and three of native irregulars, about 2000 men in all, native troops, under Italian officers and sergeants. The enemy were coming on, and on December 18th their advance guard was at a village 23 miles from Agordat. The Italian mounted advance posts skirmished, made brief stands, and retired slowly towards the town, showing remarkable steadiness in their work. They were then withdrawn, and their places taken by about 200 infantry, who observed Ahmed Ali's zeriba, constructed about 5 miles west of Agordat, on the edge of a ravine. At 1.30 a.m. on December 21st the Dervishes came out in a heavy column, headed by cavalry, and, moving very slowly, were in sight of the Italian fort by nine. A delay of two hours occurred, during which the enemy isolated the defenders of Agordat by cutting the telegraph line to Massowah. Some thousands of men, infantry mainly armed with rifles, then advanced towards the east of the fort, and were met with a fire of shells from the mountain guns. Crossing a deep ravine, they drew up in a long line of battle behind some villages a mile and a half from Agordat, Ahmed Ali hoping to tempt his foe out into the open, in fear of being invested and starved out.

The Italian commander, Arimondi, with about 2200 men and eight mountain guns, against 8000 Dervish riflemen, 3000 spearmen, and 500 cavalry or more, without any artillery, awaited attack for some time, and then, fearing a night assault, resolved to dare the offensive. With rare intrepidity he took his men forward against the villages, not in square but in line, and the Dervishes came forth to meet him in four great, broad-fronted columns, with their mounted leaders and a cluster of green banners in front of each. The leaders and banners fell back on the flanks, and the front men in the columns began to

fire without halting, the foremost warriors falling under Italian shells and bullets. The Italian infantry began to retire, and a battery of four guns was lost when every mule and several gunners had been slain. The discipline of the retiring force was admirable. There was no panic or rout, nor even a broken line. At the edge of a water-course they halted and stayed the Dervishes for a time by heavy volleys. On again retiring they led the enemy under fire from the fort, and the reserve came up from Agordat to help. By this time the Dervish advance had lost its vigour and cohesion. Many men had fallen; the columns were confused; Emir Gaidum was struck down. Ahmed Ali, splendidly mounted, and riding clad in an ancient suit of chain mail, with a group of standard-bearers around him, urging on his men, was killed by case-shot from the fort. The Dervishes began to withdraw, and Arimondi saw his opening. His cavalry dashed at the enemy's horse on the left, attempting to outflank, and to cut off retreat to the villages. The Italian foot sent incessant volleys into the dense, huddled ranks of their foe. The four guns were re-captured and opened fire, and the enemy retreated, leaving over 3000 killed and wounded and about 70 banners on the field. The victory of a small force over a host at Agordat was due to the steady fire of well-trained men against a crowd shooting fast without due aim. The Italians lost 3 officers and 7 sergeants killed, 1 officer and 2 sergeants wounded. They had 104 killed and 121 wounded among the native rank and file. The defeated Dervishes, pursued for some distance, never stopped until they reached Kassala, which soon fell into the hands of the Italians, to be restored to Egypt as above stated.

CHAPTER VIII

ABYSSINIA

ABYSSINIA is a country which has, in the nineteenth century, aroused much interest. This ancient empire includes the territories of Tigré in the north-east, Amhara in the west and centre, and Shoa in the south, all having been, at various times, separate kingdoms. Since the introduction of Christianity in the fourth century, the people have been in communion with the Alexandrian Church, their religious head, or Abuna, always a Copt in race, a descendant of the ancient Egyptians, being consecrated by the Patriarch. A native ecclesiastical dignitary, presiding over the religious orders, numbering about 12,000 monks, has also large control. An empire or kingdom of Axum, the ruined capital of which is to be seen in the modern province of Tigré, became great and prosperous in the sixth century, ruling all Abyssinia, and Yemen and Saba in Arabia, and having the chief authority in Red Sea waters. This empire was the farthest southward point reached by Greek civilisation, and also the uttermost post of Christianity in that age. The conquests of Islâm confined the Abyssinians to the interior plateau, and cut them off for a long period from intercourse with the rest of the world. The capital was during this time removed from Axum to Gondar, and the monarchs then assumed a title (*Negus*, with a lengthy affix) meaning 'King of Kings of Ethiopia.' In the sixteenth century Galla tribes from the interior of Africa began a series of devastating

raids, and the monarchy was, by degrees, broken up into several independent states. About the middle of the nineteenth century an adventurer of considerable ability and energy arose in Amhara. In warfare continuing for several years, he overcame other native potentates, and had himself crowned by the Abuna as 'Negus of Abyssinia,' with the name of Theodore. After his conquest of Shoa he was master of the whole country, and he ruled it for some time with wisdom and moderation under the guidance of two British residents, Mr Plowden and Mr Bell, the former of whom had been British consul at Massowah. In 1860 they perished in warfare for their friend with a rebel chief, and Theodore soon became tyrannical in his exercise of authority, supported by a large army, the cost of which caused oppressive taxation. Rebellions in the provinces were crushed with a ferocious cruelty which rendered him odious to his subjects. When resistance ceased, the emperor, far in advance of his subjects mentally, through his education in early life at a monastery when he was aiming at the career of a priest, sought to introduce European civilisation. His subsequent enmity to Europeans was due partly to his failure in obtaining British and French aid against hostile Moslem neighbours in Eastern Sudan. His particular grudge against Great Britain was based on several grounds. An English missionary named Stern was rash enough to bring with him, on his return to Abyssinia from a visit to England, a copy of a book, written by himself, in which Theodore was severely treated. The remarks made were translated to the emperor, and Stern and his party were henceforth virtually captives in the country. The next cause of offence came from a high British official, Lord John Russell, Foreign Secretary in Lord Palmerston's last ministry. In 1862 Captain Cameron, British Consul at Massawa (Massowah), received from Theodore a letter addressed to Queen Victoria. It has been

alleged that this document contained an offer of marriage to our recently widowed sovereign. Even if this were so, the letter, from considerations of international comity, undoubtedly required a prompt and courteous reply. It was never even delivered, but put aside in the Foreign Office and forgotten. A request to the British Government for a number of artisans in various trades to be sent out to Abyssinia for the benefit of the country was treated with like contemptuous neglect. This country was afterwards mulcted, through this treatment of the Abyssinian monarch, in an expenditure of £9,000,000 sterling—a high price to pay for a Whig minister's services at the Foreign Office.

The enraged Theodore was not slow in seeking revenge. When Captain Cameron imprudently went up the country, he was seized and imprisoned. In 1864 Mr Rassam, Resident at Aden, despatched as an envoy to treat for the release of the consul, the missionaries and other foreign residents, was also imprisoned, along with his companions, Dr Blanc and Lieutenant Prideaux. Negotiation, backed by presents, failed to attain the object in view, and the prisoners were all shut up in the strong rock fortress of Magdala. The matter was much discussed in the Indian bazaars, and when remonstrances and threats were vain, it became necessary to demonstrate the length of reach of British power. The enterprise of rescuing the captives was sure to be difficult and costly, as the distance to be traversed from the coast to the capital was 400 miles, through a rugged, mountainous, almost unknown territory. The right man to command the expedition sent from Bombay was fortunately found in Sir Robert Napier, a distinguished officer of engineers, who had done admirable service in the Second Sikh and the Indian Mutiny Wars. The question of transport was very serious, as every animal needed to be taken either from Asia or Europe. Thousands of mules were pur-

chased in Spain, Italy and Asia Minor; many hundreds of camels were brought from Arabia and Egypt. Elephants to carry mountain guns were taken with the expedition from the great port of western India, the force landing at Annesley Bay in the last month of 1867. About 12,000 troops were sent, with as many more men of the transport service and camp followers. In April 1868 the advance fighting force, including the 4th and 33rd Regiments, a wing of the 45th, a Beloochee regiment, the Punjab Pioneers, a wing of the 10th Bombay Native Infantry, Royal Engineers, Indian Sappers, two batteries of mountain guns, a naval brigade with rocket tubes, the 3rd Bombay Cavalry, the Scinde Horse and two squadrons of the 3rd Dragoon Guards, had reached the table-land of Dalanta. They numbered about 4000 men, including 460 cavalry, having left strong posts behind on the march to secure depôts of stores at Senafé, Adigrat, Antalo and other points on the long journey from the coast. No opposition whatever had been encountered beyond that due to natural obstacles and the need of carrying all supplies of food through a thinly-populated country. The people hated their tyrant and welcomed the invaders. The tyrant himself made no attempt to harass the march, but stayed at Magdala, which he firmly believed to be impregnable. At Dalanta, the army was within 10 miles of the rock fortress, lying on a plateau amid crags, connected with hills to right and left. The ascent was by a zigzag road cut on the face of Fahla, the flat-topped hill to the right of the Magdala table-land.

Theodore was known to have many cannon cast by Europeans in the country, and his army comprised 3000 men armed with percussion-muskets, and a great number of spearmen. The advance force was in command of General Sir Charles Staveley. As the march towards Magdala went on and the men had arrived near the foot of Fahla Hill, there was a critical time when a long train

of baggage animals, with guns, ammunition and other stores, in full view of the enemy at Magdala, were crowded in a valley with no other guard than 100 men of the 4th Regiment. A mistake in his course had been made by Colonel Phayre with 800 sappers, who should have been in front. Sir Robert Napier and his staff, on learning the position of affairs, hurried up from the rear at the moment when the Abyssinians, manning a dozen cannon at the top of Fahla, could be seen going from gun to gun to load. The naval rocket brigade was seen coming up the valley, and then a large body of horse and foot came pouring down the road from the enemy's position. A puff of smoke burst from the brow of Fahla, and a 32-pound shot soon struck the ground a few yards from the Punjaub Pioneers. Sir Robert Napier at once ordered the Punjaubees to take up a position on high ground, and aides-de-camp were sent, one after another, to hurry on the naval brigade with their rockets. The enemy had already descended the road and were scattered over the lower ground, the main body making for the road up which the baggage train was slowly moving, the rest coming on in groups as the Fahla guns kept steadily firing at the Punjaubees. The Abyssinians, horse and foot, many mounted chiefs and foot soldiers clad in scarlet, the rest in white, came quickly forward, and it was a doubtful point whether they would be within striking distance before the arrival of the naval brigade and other troops of the advance force. The sound of the Fahla guns had, however, produced its effect on the troops in the rear, and 300 men of the 4th Regiment, the Beloochees, two companies of the 10th Native Infantry and the Sappers, came on the ground in the nick of time. The 4th went on in skirmishing order. The sailors unshipped their rocket-tubes from the mules' backs and in less than a minute sent one of the terrible missiles whizzing at the foe, followed by a regular discharge. The

enemy had no experience of such engines of warfare, and paused in terror, while the horses plunged and broke away in flight. Then, rallying at the voice of the chiefs, the Abyssinians came rushing on, to be met by the fire of Snider rifles carried by the men of the 4th Regiment. This was the first engagement in which British troops ever used breechloaders, and the unceasing fire amazed and terrified the foe. Slowly at first, and then faster, they withdrew, pursued by the bullets and rockets. The guns from Fahla and another hill kept up a constant fire, so badly aimed that most of the shot went far over the heads of our men, while the British force, for half an hour, exchanged fire with a line of riflemen on the upward path, sheltered in small rifle-pits and behind rocks. The rockets then drove the enemy up the hill, and did some damage among the Abyssinians at the top of Fahla, 1000 feet above, nearly killing Theodore himself as he directed the working of the guns.

During this time the main body of the Abyssinians had been engaged with the Punjaubees defending the head of the road in which the baggage train was moving. Some guns had arrived at the right moment, and their shells were sent among the foe, 300 yards distant, as the Punjaubee rifles began to fire. The advance was checked, and most of the Abyssinians rushed away to attack the baggage train in flank. They were received with a heavy fire of breechloaders from the 100 men of the 4th Regiment. The guns sent shell in quick succession into their ranks, and the Punjaubees, after firing a volley, charged them with the bayonet and drove them in flight up the opposite side of the ravine. The battle of Aroghee, taking its name from the valley in which it was fought, cost the victors only 30 men wounded. A trifling matter for the British force, it was a decisive defeat for Theodore's men. The army which came down from the fortress included 5000 of his best troops. Of these, at

least 500 were killed, and most of the survivors were cut off from return to Magdala. The effect on the mind of the Abyssinian monarch was such that he speedily sent in all the captives, about 50 in number, but he resolved to resist to the last when he found that Sir Robert Napier's only terms for his surrender were that his life should be spared. The chiefs were permitted to make terms for themselves, and at once surrendered Fahla and the other hill near Magdala plateau, on condition that they and their families and tribesmen might depart with all their property. About 30,000 men, women and children thus went their way, with many oxen, sheep and donkeys. The defeated monarch was in a desperate position. A dozen or more of his immediate followers or courtiers, and a hundred or two men, alone remained with him, and his attempt to escape down a precipitous path from his fortress was frustrated by the presence of some Gallas, a tribe who thirsted for his blood. This ambitious, proud and cruel barbarian, a man claiming descent from Solomon and the Queen of Sheba, was resolved to die rather than surrender to his victorious foes. All feeling of pity for the fallen sovereign had departed from his conquerors when the released captives reported that on the day before the arrival of the invading army more than 350 prisoners had been massacred, the king himself slaying until his arm was wearied. A soldier in the force advancing up the narrow path, looked over the ledge of the precipice and saw, a hundred feet below, a great pile of naked bodies, gashed and mutilated, as they had been flung down from above. A storm of fire from the guns and rockets preceded the troops, and then, under cover of rifle bullets from the infantry, a party of engineers went forward to blow in the gate of Magdala, at the head of a narrow road cut in the face of perpendicular rocks. Some return fire came from a high wall stretching on each side of the

gateway, and from behind houses and rocks near at hand. The men pushed their rifles through the loopholes in the gate and kept up a fire. The powder-bags for blowing in the gate had been forgotten, and a few pioneers were sent up with axes to hew it down, when some men of the 33rd Regiment climbed up the rocks at the roadside, forced their way through a high hedge, and reached a point inside the outer gateway, whose defenders were then driven off by their fire. The rest of the regiment followed, and forced an inner gate at the top of a flight of steps, with room for one man at a time to ascend a rock thirty feet in height. They were then inside the fortress of Magdala, where many circular huts, stone walled, with high, conical, thatched roofs, were scattered over the plateau. Near the gate lay Theodore's body, bearing two wounds. His death was due to suicide by firing a pistol into his mouth. A few bodies of chiefs lay near the lower and the upper gates. A hundred prisoners were found in chains. The place was dismantled and destroyed by gunpowder and fire, and the expedition returned to the coast, leaving nothing of the fortress and town but blackened rock. The commander became Lord Napier of Magdala, G.C.B. In 1870 he was Commander-in-Chief in India. From 1876 to 1882 he was Governor of Gibraltar; in 1890 he died Field-Marshal and Constable of the Tower. The widow of the hapless Theodore died in the British camp before the country was evacuated. Their little son, Alamayou, seven years of age, was taken to India under the Queen's orders, for special care of his person and training. He was afterwards brought to England, but no kindness and attention could prevent him from fading away before he reached manhood.

The death of Theodore was followed by struggles for supremacy among rival chieftains. In the end Prince Kassai of Tigré, assuming the old title of 'Negus,' was crowned in 1872 as Johannes (John) II., Emperor of

Ethiopia. The new ruler was at war with Egypt in 1875, the contest continuing in a desultory way until the evacuation of the Sudan in 1884. In January 1885, at the instance of the British authorities in Egypt, king John sent a relieving force into Eastern Sudan, driving off the Dervishes from Galabat, and rescuing the garrison and all the inhabitants, who were escorted safely to Massawa (Massowah) by way of Gondar. The town was then occupied by the Khalifa's men, about 16,000 in number, mostly Jaalin tribesmen, who were attacked in January 1887 by an immense force of Abyssinians, horse and foot, under Ras Adal, Chief of Amhara. The Dervishes were driven out with great slaughter; the place was fired, the magazine blown up; and the Abyssinians, after pillaging the town, retired with a large number of women and children carried off as slaves. Again Galabat, by the Khalifa's orders, was occupied by the Dervishes, under his nephew, Yunis, appointed Emir of the district, and this man made raids into Abyssinia from time to time, destroying villages and churches, the ornaments of which he sent to Omdurman, thereby earning from his master the title of 'Mismar ed Din' or 'Nail of Religion.' Yunis then, by a pretence of a peaceful attitude and the granting of free passes to travelling merchants, tempted Abyssinians to come down at various times of the year into the Galabat plain with large numbers of mules, donkeys and horses for sale, bringing also supplies of coffee, lentils, beans, wax and honey. A sudden attack on the traders' zeriba ended in the slaughter of many, the seizure of their goods and the despatch of 1000 of their number as prisoners to Omdurman, where they were left to wander about in helpless misery, and mostly died of starvation. In July 1887 the Khalifa wrote a letter to the Abyssinian king, offering peace on condition of his becoming a Moslem and restoring all

the captured women and children, along with the persons of certain former Dervish leaders who had deserted the cause. No reply was made to this document, and a great force of Dervishes was gathered under the command of Abu Anga, a renowned warrior, who had been active against Hicks Pasha's expedition, and in operations of the Khalifa in other quarters. A grand review was held at Omdurman, before the Khalifa, who saw over 30,000 men armed with Remington rifles, and about 20,000 sword and spear men march past before taking the field for war with Abyssinia. At Galabat, reinforcements from the district raised Abu Anga's army to over 80,000 men, and he advanced thence into Abyssinian territory. Many of the invaders died of exhaustion through forced marches over rugged ground. At six days' journey from Galabat, the Abyssinians, in great force under Ras Adal, were encountered in the great plain of Ḍabra Sin, and a fierce battle of Christians against Islâm was fought. The well-aimed fire of Abu Anga's trained riflemen was too much for the wildly-charging Abyssinian horsemen, who fell in thousands, and the conflict then became a mere massacre. Most of the Abyssinian leaders were slain, and the camp, with countless donkeys and mules, was taken. The road to Gondar, the former capital of Abyssinia, 30 miles away, lay open to the victors. The place was sacked and burnt to ashes; the priests were flung down from the church roofs, the male population were massacred, and the women and children carried off as slaves. Anga and his men, laden with booty, returned to Galabat in the last days of 1887, and the conquering leader was received with the greater joy by the Khalifa at Omdurman in that he brought 30,000 Maria Theresa dollars as part of the plunder obtained.

One consequence of the victory over Ras Adal was that the tribes on the north-western borders of Abyssinia

embraced Mahdiism, if the Khalifa's cause may be so styled. At the same time Todros Kasa, second son of Theodore of Abyssinia, suddenly appeared at Galabat, and offered his services to the Dervishes against his own countrymen, the Abyssinians. He was sent on to Omdurman, where he was well received by the Khalifa, who promised to place him on the Abyssinian throne. In return, Todros undertook that all the Abyssinians should embrace Islâm and pay annual tribute to the Khalifa. The ruler at Omdurman shortly afterwards received a note from king John, offering to make a treaty of peace. The Sudanese and the Abyssinians, he urged, were alike descended from Ham, and it was their duty to combine against their common enemies, the Europeans, whose power was ever growing in Africa. The Khalifa's reply was that they might become good friends if king John would become a Moslem, otherwise he must brand the Abyssinian ruler as the enemy of God and His Prophet, and was bound to exterminate him. Soon after this exchange of letters between the rival potentates, Abu Anga died at Galabat, and was succeeded in the supreme command by Zeki Tummal. It was rumoured that king John, with an enormous force under his own command and that of Ras Adal and his other important chiefs, was on the way, and on March 9th 1889 he made his attack on Galabat. The Dervish zeriba was taken by storm after a desperate conflict, and confusion was prevailing amongst the Khalifa's men, when the news spread amongst the Abyssinians that their king had been struck down by a bullet. A panic arose in the moment of victory, and the Abyssinians made for the Atbara River. The Dervishes had suffered great loss, but on the following day they started in pursuit, and on March 11th came up with a large part of the retiring enemy encamped on the river bank. In the battle the Abyssinians lost heavily, and fled, leaving their king's dead body, which had been carefully packed in a long box sealed with wax, in the hands of the

Dervishes. The head was cut off and sent to Omdurman, where it was fixed high on a camel's back and paraded up and down the market-place, while a herald went before and proclaimed that the mighty Negus had been slain and that all must rejoice. Amongst the plunder of the Abyssinian camp at the Atbara was the throne, from which the cross had been removed; a copy of the New Testament written on parchment in Amharic, profusely illustrated and illuminated, and bound in a triple leather cover; a gold watch marked 'Crosdi, Paris,' showing the day of the week and the month of the year; a telescope, and an original letter from Queen Victoria to king John, dated in November 1887, inquiring after the health of the king and his family; expressing an earnest wish to live on peaceful and friendly terms with the Negus, now that England, occupying Egypt, had become a neighbour to Abyssinia, and ending with good wishes for the King's health, happiness and long life. The letter was signed by Lord Salisbury, then Prime Minister and Foreign Secretary. The Khalifa seemed now to be at the zenith of his power. On the day when the king of Abyssinia's head arrived and was publicly shown, his triumphant foe ordered it to be sewn in a piece of leather, and sent it on to Dongola, with orders for its despatch to Wadi-Halfa, as a warning to the Khedive and the English that a like fate would await them if they did not at once submit. The British and Egyptian reply, at a later season, to this challenge has been recorded.

We must now trace the brief and disastrous connection of Italy with Abyssinia. The advance of the Italians from Massawa had been resented by king John, and in 1887 Captain de Cristoforis and 500 men were all killed by Abyssinian forces, save one man, who reached the coast stripped and wounded. The Italians had fallen, after a heroic resistance, all in line, until their ammunition was spent. A large reinforcement was despatched from Italy,

and during the 'wars of succession' in Abyssinia, which followed the death of king John, the Italian commander, General Baldassara, took possession of Keren and the Asmara country. The Italian Government supported the claims of Menelek II., King of Shoa, who had always befriended the Italian explorers, and he was now helped with large gifts of muskets and ammunition. Menelek then became Negus, or Emperor of Ethiopia—meaning supreme ruler of Abyssinia—in 1889, under a treaty with the Italians that he should 'not concede any portion of his territories, nor make treaties, nor accept any foreign protectorate.' This Treaty of Uchali, as interpreted by the Italian Government, made Abyssinia an Italian protectorate; but Menelek, one of the most remarkable of African potentates in modern days, had different ideas on the subject. By Italian intervention he obtained arms and ammunition from Belgium, and was soon provided with an army of 70,000 men, abundant stores of war and 20 cannon. As against Italy, or any foreign power, he could rely on the support of numerous *Ras* or feudal lords, who receive investiture from him, and pay taxes and tribute, exercising regal authority in their own territories, like mediæval princes, raising troops and compelling the people to maintain them during their warfare with each other. Menelek's queen, Taitu, a very ambitious and strong-minded lady, supported him in his repudiation of all foreign interference, or semblance of a 'protectorate. The Italian Government, in pursuance of their own aims, claimed possession of the Red Sea littoral from Cape Kasar to the Strait of Bab-el-Mandeb, comprising Massowah (Massawa), Assab, and their territories, Keren and Asmara. The Sultan of Obbia, on the Somali coast, and another Somali ruler were under Italian protection at their own desire, and, by arrangement with Great Britain, the Italian protectorate extended along the coast of Somaliland to the mouth of the Juba River. General

Baratieri, an old Garibaldian of 1860, who became a noted commander in the Bersaglieri Corps, and a distinguished writer on military matters, restored order at Massowah, repressed brigandage and the slave trade from the Sudan to the Red Sea coast, promoted commerce and tillage, made roads and started railways, and reorganised the native militia raised by his predecessor, General Baldassara. The native troops, well cared for, became devoted to their Italian officers, and were soon skilful in constructing forts and roads, and in making mines and earthworks, and even learned to read and write, so as to help the non-commissioned officers in their work. In all his efforts Baratieri was well seconded by Colonel, afterwards General, Arimondi, who succeeded to the command when his chief was summoned to Italy at the end of 1893. The rout of the Dervishes at Agordat has been above related. In July 1894 Baratieri, having returned to his command, attacked the Dervishes at Kassala, after a forced march, surprising their camp, and routing and dispersing 4000 men. The town was occupied, the foundations of a fort laid and the Egyptian prisoners liberated. The western frontier of the Italian colony was thus extended to a distance of 250 miles inland from Massowah. The tribes driven out and cruelly treated by the Dervishes were restored to their native districts.

King Menelek had been, meanwhile, besieged by his *Ras* or feudal chiefs with entreaties to act against the Italians, who had, as they asserted, occupied Kassala in order thence to attack Abyssinia. When Ras Mangascia prayed to be made 'king' of Tigré, in the north-east of the country, he was told by Menelek to 'go and drive out the Italians first.' Baratieri, in the autumn of 1894, informed of Abyssinian intrigues, took prompt measures against his adversaries. He sent out troops who defeated 'rebels' attacking the Italian posts, and, summoning the native militia to his aid, concentrated his forces at Adi Ugri for

the defence of Massowah, at the same time occupying Adowa. The Italian leader was well served by his hundreds of spies disguised as peasants, merchants, or herdsmen, and he had thus full and correct news concerning the movements, numbers, and intentions of the Abyssinians. The marching and counter-marching among mountains, swamps, passes and tangled thickets were very arduous. At last Baratieri took up his position at Coatit early in January 1895, forestalling the purpose of Ras Mangascia, who was advancing thither with 12,000 men. The Italian troops were ready, with Majors Toselli and Galliano in the van, and Hidalgo in reserve. At sunrise on January 13th the Italian battery sent a shrapnel shell into the enemy's camp at the foot of the mountain, and the General and his staff, taking up a position on a cone-shaped height, saw that the Abyssinians were going to adopt their usual tactics of surrounding their foe. Their van was making for the wells of Coatit, not checked by the rifle-fire and shrapnel. The battle grew fierce, and some of the staff, and many of the *askars*, or native militia, fell near the General. He and Arimondi then observed that lofty hills to the north of Coatit were occupied by the Abyssinians, and for that day the battle came to a close. Fighting was resumed on the following day, January 14th, and in the evening Ras Mangascia sent a Copt priest asking for terms. Baratieri refused to discuss the matter until the last of the enemy had recrossed the River Belesa. A prisoner who was brought in stated that the Abyssinians had suffered great losses, that their ammunition was failing, and that the troops were dispirited. In the night they all retired on Senafé, and a pursuit began, ending in the enemy's hurried abandonment of that town, leaving banners, food, arms, and the tent of the Ras. Two companies were left in charge at Senafé, and on January 23rd Baratieri disbanded his troops, having utterly beaten 12,000 choice Abyssinian warriors with a

force under 4000, all natives, except 65 Italian officers and 42 men.

The king, Menelek, had already 'denounced' the Treaty of Uchali, under which the Italians claimed his country as their 'protectorate,' and the correspondence seized in Ras Mangascia's tent proved that the Negus and most of his feudal chieftains were in concert for the expulsion of the Italians from that part of Africa. The general feeling in Italy was in favour of making peace with Menelek, with a withdrawal to the old position at Massowah. Baratieri, on returning from Rome to his command in September 1895, found that Ras Mangascia was in charge of a new army, and he at once attacked and defeated his rear. The Italian General then reorganised his forces, receiving officers and material from home, and enrolling fresh native battalions. The Tigré country was annexed, and a fort was constructed at Adigrat, with Arimondi in command. A new fort, under Major Toselli, was made at Macallè, or Makalla, and Toselli, with 2400 native troops and 11 Italian officers, went forth to reconnoitre. Ras Mangascia sent letters professing a desire for peace, but, at the end of November, he and the chiefs declared their intention of recovering the lost provinces for Menelek. Skirmishes took place between the outposts, and Toselli sent word to Arimondi at Adigrat that an attack was certain, and urged him to come or to send reinforcements. Arimondi prepared to comply with this request, at the same time sending an account of affairs to his chief, Baratieri. The General then ordered the recall of Toselli, and the concentration of all troops at Adigrat, with instructions to fight no general action, but to await his arrival in full force. This order was received by Arimondi on December 5th, at the moment when Toselli was writing a hurried letter, begging him to 'hasten up, as the enemy's forces were crossing the heights in immense numbers.' Orders for Toselli's retreat had been sent, but were never received,

nor did Arimondi receive his last dispatch until all was over. On the evening of December 6th, Toselli wrote again of the great assemblage of the foe, as shown by the camp fires all around him. He then placed Anghera's battery in his centre, and arranged his 2400 men in a defensive position. At 6 a.m. on the following day the Shoan forces, 8000 strong, attacked, and were repulsed with great loss from the Italian guns, but 12,000 more men advanced on the centre, right and left, surrounding and dividing Toselli's little army. At 11 o'clock he ordered the baggage to be removed, and, later on, the guns to make ready to protect a general retreat. The road was, however, overhung by a hill which the enemy held. Two guns were flung by the artillerymen over a precipice, in order to save them from capture, and the surviving troops were mostly shot down. Toselli, sending his aide-de-camp with a remnant to meet Arimondi, who was coming up, remained on the field till the last soldier had quitted it, and then went slowly down, wounded, exhausted, perfectly calm. A few officers were with him, but he sent them away, replying to their entreaties to come, 'No! for me it is finished; I prefer to die here,' and then he shot himself through the heart. About 300 *askars* (native troops) were rallied, and made their escape. Of the 11 Italian officers, 7 were killed and 2 taken prisoners. When the retreating remnant met Arimondi, the Abyssinian cavalry were in full pursuit, and the General's horse was killed under him. During the night he encamped his men on a height, and then led his own force and the 300 *askars* back to Makalla. Such was the first disaster which preluded the fulfilment of Menelek's instructions to Ras Mangascia, to 'go and drive out the Italians.' The enemy remained in possession of Amba Alagi, a huge, square building, which had been Toselli's headquarters before the battle, on the crest of a hill. There the dead Italian officers were buried with military honours. The

prisoners were unharmed, and the wounded men were properly tended.

After this defeat, the Italian Government decided to attempt no further extension of territorial influence in Africa. An immense force of Abyssinians, under Menelek, beleaguered the fortress of Macallè (Makalla), defended by Captain Galliano, with 19 Italian officers and 1500 *askars*. The enemy suffered great loss from the Italian guns, but the besieged, as their foes were in possession of the wells, were forced to surrender from lack of water, and were sent, with their guns, rifles and ammunition, in safety to Adigrat. These terms had been arranged by the Italian Government with Menelek, on the understanding that the king of Italy was to treat for peace, and pay a sum of money for the ransom of the officers. The Italian cause in that part of Africa was thus doomed, though the capitulation of Makalla was represented in Italy as a virtual victory. By the terms of surrender, Menelek and his army of 70,000 men were to be free to march unmolested on Adowa, while Baratieri, now heading 30,000 men, well equipped and provisioned, in strong positions, was forced to abandon Adigrat. The negotiations for peace failed, as the Italian Government refused to abrogate the 17th clause of the Uchali Treaty of 1889, by which, according to the Italian interpretation, as we have seen, Menelek was to recognise an Italian 'protectorate,' and to treat with foreign powers only through the medium of Italy.

Such of the *Ras* or feudal chiefs as had hitherto supported the Italian cause now went over to the winning side. The conquered provinces were roused to revolt, and Baratieri found himself surrounded by foes, his caravans seized and his troops unprovisioned. In February 1896 he decided to retreat on Ada Caiè, but General Arimondi and most of the superior officers, several of whom were new to Africa, induced him to attack the enemy, contrary to the advice of Major Salsa, the most experienced mem-

ber of the staff. Three columns of attack advanced. One reached a wrong point and was utterly crushed. A second, marching to the rescue, was overwhelmed, with the slaughter of General Dabormida, all of his officers and most of his men. Arimondi, arriving in support, was also slain, and a general rout followed. The 60 cannon were all taken. Two generals and over 200 officers were killed and wounded, and nearly 10,000 native troops were slain. Such was the disastrous battle of Adowa, fought on March 1st 1896. The people of Italy were resolved to have no more sacrifice of men and money in Africa, and the king was forced to accept the resignation of the Crispi Ministry, who had roused the utmost indignation by acting in defiance of Parliament, expending large sums, without sanction, in attempting to extend Italian territory in Africa, and carrying on useless warfare. This course of action had now ended in the greatest defeat ever experienced on that continent by a European army—a crushing blow, not to Italy alone, but to the credit of Europeans generally in the Dark Continent. We have seen how that credit was nobly restored, in the same year and the two following, by British and Egyptian forces in the Sudan. The surrender of Adigrat to king Menelek was followed by a convention, signed in October 1896, fully recognising the independence of Abyssinia.

The Abyssinian ruler's triumphant success at Adowa at once raised him to the highest position, apart from Egypt, amongst native African sovereigns. He enjoyed the rare distinction, for an African potentate, of finding his friendship courted by great European powers—France, Russia and Great Britain. The character of this 'King of Kings of Ethiopia' has been revealed as that of a most enlightened ruler, a 'strong man' who has welded into something like harmony the heterogeneous and disloyal elements of Abyssinia, and has gained the respect and affection of his people. King Menelek, well aware that

any monarch who aspires to rank as a civilised ruler must be in touch with European nations, keeps himself well informed of what is going on outside his country, not only in politics, but in miscellaneous affairs and even in science. Dignified, courteous and kindly in demeanour, with an un-Oriental disregard of compliments, verbiage and pompous etiquette, he showed his appreciation of European esteem by receiving the British envoys, in the spring of 1897, with his person adorned by the Orders of Catharine of Russia and of the French Legion of Honour, and in accepting with surprise and delight the insignia of a Knight Grand Cross of the British Order of St Michael and St George. Six feet without his shoes, stoutly built, very dark in complexion, with a strong, heavy, small-pox-pitted face rendered comely by a most pleasant expression and by eyes of rare intelligence, the king of Abyssinia looks worthy of the part which he has to play in Africa. The feudal force has now been superseded by a standing army of 70,000 men, capable of being raised to thrice that number, mostly armed with modern rifles.

CHAPTER IX

EXPLORATION AND PARTITION

THE exploration of Africa, almost wholly effected, in modern times, during the nineteenth century, is a subject which has a literature of its own, and can only here be dealt with in a few salient points. The systematic, scientific examination of the continent by travellers had its origin in 1788, when the African Association of London was founded, though James Bruce, a Scot, had, in the period between 1768 and 1773, made much research in Abyssinia, travelling from Massowah to the sources of the Blue Nile, and returning to Egypt by way of Sennaar and the Nubian Desert. The first problem which attracted the attention of the pioneers of African discovery was that of the Niger basin, the aim being to ascertain the source and to trace the progress seawards of that great river. Adventurous and intrepid men, taking their lives in their hands as they faced the perils of climate, savage pagans and jealous Mohammedan occupants and traders in the vast interior so long, for Europeans, enveloped in mystery, succeeded in solving that problem by the year 1834. Another enterprising Scot, Mungo Park, made known the easterly or upper portion of the river, returning to England in 1797. In 1805, as head of an expedition for the British Government, Park undertook to trace the course of the Niger thence to the sea. The whole of the travellers were either slain by the natives, or died of disease, and a nautical work, known to have been in Park's

possession, was afterwards seen by some British explorers in the hut of a native chief. In connection with Niger exploration, we may note French expeditions to the western and central Sahara, with the tracing of the Senegal and the Gambia to their sources by 1818.

A great object of ambition at this time was to reach Timbuktu, on the southern edge of the Sahara, about 8 miles north of the main stream of the Joliba or Upper Niger. The place seems to have exercised over the minds of explorers the same fascination as the South American El Dorado, with its golden city of Manoa, in the days of Queen Elizabeth. It was supposed to be the capital of an enormously powerful and wealthy state, having, in fact, declined from the condition of a town of considerable area, founded in the twelfth century, with a large mosque dating from 1325, the place being important from its position on a trade route between the interior and the west and south. From the Nile, from Tripoli and from the Gambia vain attempts were made by Ledyard and others, and the first European who arrived at the town was probably Alexander Gordon Laing, in 1826, though the French claim the honour for René Caillié, a trader in Senegal, who, knowing Arabic, and clad in Moorish dress, with a stock of goods for barter, reached Timbuktu in April 1828, and was awarded the prize of 10,000 francs offered by the Geographical Society of Paris, with a further pension of 1000 francs. In 1822 Major Denham, an old 'Peninsular' officer, and Captain Clapperton of the Royal Navy, went due south from Tripoli to Lake Tchad, completely crossing the Sahara. Three years later, Clapperton, with his faithful servant, Richard Lander, made his way from the Guinea Coast to Sokoto, on a tributary of the Niger, and there died in 1827, being the first European traveller who ever crossed Africa from the Mediterranean to the Guinea Coast. In 1828 Denham died of fever, as Governor of Sierra Leone. It was

Richard Lander who at last cleared up the Niger mystery, by descending, in company with his brother John, the last 800 miles of the river in 1830-32. In 1834 this great explorer died near the Niger mouths from wounds inflicted by the natives. Exploration of the vast Niger territory was thus mainly due to British enterprise. In 1854 William Balfour Baikie, a native of Kirkwall, in the Orkney Isles, was surgeon and naturalist to a Niger expedition, and having succeeded, through the captain's death, to the command of the little vessel, the *Pleiad*, he made his way, on a first voyage, 250 miles higher up the river than any previous traveller. On a second expedition, in 1857, the *Pleiad* was wrecked, and the leader was then abandoned by his fellow-explorers, but the heroic Baikie carried on the work alone, founding a native station at Lokoja, at the confluence of the Benué with the Niger, and spending the next five years in opening up the great river to navigation, making roads, collecting a native vocabulary, and translating parts of the Bible and Prayer Book into the Haussa language.

One of the greatest of modern scientific travellers was Dr Heinrich Barth, born at Hamburg in 1821. After travels in Tunis, Tripoli, Egypt, the Sinai peninsula, Palestine, and Asia Minor, he was appointed by the British Government, in 1850, along with Dr Overweg, as scientific companion to Mr James Richardson, who was being despatched to Central Africa on a political and commercial mission, including plans for the suppression of the slave trade. The start was made from Tripoli, and many perils and obstacles were encountered. After separating from Barth, both Overweg and Richardson died from climatic disease, and the German explorer, in the course of five years, made his way south to Adamawa, a province of the Fulah state of Sokoto, discovering the upper Benué waters; crossed the great desert also from Bagirmi, near Lake Tchad, to Timbuktu, and travelled in

all over 12,000 miles. North-central African exploration was carried on in subsequent years by Barth's fellow-countrymen Vogel, Rohlfs, Nachtigal and others. Much new territory has been opened up by Frenchmen seeking to connect Senegambia with Algeria by a railway or other route.

When the Niger problem had been solved, the attention of explorers was turned towards the Nile—the source of the White Nile, the main river, being utterly unknown. In 1848 and 1849 two German missionaries, Krapf and Rebmann, discovered the snow-capped mountain Kilima-Njaro, an isolated mass between Victoria Nyanza and the coast, consisting of two craters, connected by a broad saddle 14,000 feet in height, studded with lava hills, the highest point being about 19,700 feet above sea-level; and Kenia, another huge, isolated mass, a little north of the former, with a crater wall rising to 16,000 feet, but having a pinnacle nearly 19,000 feet in elevation. The fable of a great range, long styled and marked on the old maps as 'Mountains of the Moon,' was thus exposed. The discoverers of the two great mountains little knew how near they were to the true source of the Nile. Their discovery, however, and the information which they obtained from natives concerning surrounding territory, led the way to the travels of Burton and Speke in that part of Africa. In 1857 Dr Krapf heard from natives that 'a large river issued from a lake at the foot of the Kenia mountains, and flowed northwards through another lake.' In the following year Major Burton and Captain Speke, crossing from Zanzibar, made their way to Lake Tanganyika, and Speke alone reached the southern shore of Lake Victoria Nyanza. In 1861 Captains Speke and Grant came upon the great river at the Ripon Falls, on the north shore of Victoria Nyanza, and followed it down to the Karuma Falls, being then prevented by a native war from tracing its course down to the Albert Nyanza.

It was thus definitely established that the true source of the mysterious river is Lake Victoria Nyanza. In 1863-64 Sir Samuel Baker's travels confirmed the discovery, and completed the tracing of the river into Lake Albert Nyanza, thus confirming the native statement made to Dr Krapf. A new impulse was given to the work of Nile exploration by the extension of Egyptian rule, and in 1876 Gessi, whom we have seen as an officer of Colonel Gordon's, traced the river upwards to the Albert Nyanza, which he fully explored. The river Nile thus became known from its start on the equator to its finish in the Mediterranean. In 1875 Lake Victoria Nyanza was circumnavigated by the great Welsh-American explorer Stanley, who found that a river about a mile wide flowed into it on the south, and other large streams on the east and west. Schweinfurth, a German traveller and botanist, in 1870 crossed the watershed between the Nile and Congo systems, and discovered the Wellé River, afterwards found to be a tributary of the Congo.

Among the greatest of African explorers have been Livingstone and Stanley, their work being mainly done in the south and central and east-central parts of the continent. The illustrious Scottish missionary and traveller began his African career in 1840, as an agent of the London Missionary Society and a colleague of the famous Robert Moffat. Labouring first in the Bechuana country, and acquiring an invaluable knowledge of native languages, customs and laws, he started northwards in June 1849, and in August reached Lake Ngami, then first seen by European eyes. In 1851 he went north-east and discovered the Zambesi, the largest river in southern Africa. Between January 1853 and May 1856, amid difficulties and dangers from fever, famine and hostile natives, Livingstone journeyed northwards to Lake Dilolo, the source of one arm of the Zambesi, and carried the British name and influence into regions

destined to become, at a later day, the seat of British power. He then crossed westwards to the Portuguese town, St Paul de Loanda, arriving there in August 1854. Retracing his steps, he passed down the Zambesi from the point to which he had ascended before he started westwards, discovered the great Victoria Falls, and finally came out at Quillimane, on the northern mouth of the river, after performing the then unparalleled feat of crossing Africa from ocean to ocean in those latitudes. During this great journey Livingstone had discovered, near Lake Dilolo, the dividing plateau, from five to seven thousand feet above sea-level, which separates Central and Southern Africa. The territory which he had crossed was proved to be thickly wooded, richly fertile, well watered and abounding in mineral wealth. After a visit to the British Isles, and the publication of an account of his travels, Livingstone went to Quillimane, in Mozambique, early in 1858, as British Consul, and engaged in a five years' journey, accompanied by Dr Kirk, afterwards the Sir John Kirk who was very influential and serviceable in Zanzibar. A new country was opened up to the world, and a basis was laid for the establishment in Nyassaland of the trading and missionary posts which led to British influence and power in one of the best regions of Central Africa. The regions explored were those lying north of the lower Zambesi, with the discovery of Lake Shirwa, and the first complete knowledge and accurate mapping of Lake Nyassa.

The latest achievements of the Scottish traveller began in 1866, after a second visit to the British Isles. The country between Lakes Nyassa and Victoria Nyanza was explored. After ascending the river Rovuma, in about 10° south latitude, for some distance, he struck out by land to the south-west, round the western side of Lake Nyassa, and due northwards to Lake Tanganyika, which was reached in the autumn of 1867, with the discovery on

the way of Lakes Liemba, Bangweolo, and Moero. South of Tanganyika he found a river which, in its course between Lakes Bangweolo and Moero, was known as the Luapula, and, farther on, as the Lualaba. He traced the stream through those lakes as far as 4° south latitude, believing that he was finding the head waters of the Nile, but Stanley afterwards proved that Lualaba and Luapula were both the Upper Congo. The striking episode of Livingstone's reported death and his discovery alive in November 1871 at Ujiji, on the eastern side of Lake Tanganyika, by Mr Stanley, is well known. He had been cut off from the world for nearly three years by inundations and native wars. He then made some further explorations in that region, and, dying of dysentery in May 1873, on the southern shore of Lake Bangweolo, he was buried, in 1874, in Westminster Abbey. Between 1872 and 1875, Lieutenant Cameron of the Royal Navy, despatched from Zanzibar by the Royal Geographical Society in search of Livingstone, explored Lake Tanganyika and discovered its outlet, the Lukuga, into the Congo basin, reached Nyangwé, and made his remarkable overland journey, through much new territory, to Benguela, on the Atlantic coast.

The one great river problem of Africa, after the Niger and the Nile, was the long-mysterious Congo. The task was reserved for the able and intrepid Mr H. M. Stanley. In 1871 he first entered Africa on his search for Livingstone. In the space of six years his memorable journey across the continent, and especially his discoveries concerning the great river of Central Africa, had intensified the interest in the continent aroused by Livingstone; had caused the despatch to the Uganda country of a host of British and French missionaries; and had paved the way for the great partition among European powers. Starting from Bagamoyo on the east coast, opposite the island of Zanzibar, he marched to the Victoria Nyanza,

sailed round the lake and visited Uganda, explored Lake Albert Edward Nyanza and the watershed between the Nile and the Congo, and made his way south to Lake Tanganyika. Thence, by the Lukuga river, after having sailed round the lake, he proceeded to Nyangwé, and entered the unknown basin of the Congo. His great journey down the river to its mouth solved the problem of the origin, course and magnitude of the river, proving, as already stated, that Livingstone's Luapula and Lualaba were not the Nile but the Congo, discovering the Stanley Falls, and establishing the fact that the Congo, the great equatorial stream of Central Africa, having a vast number of tributaries, is the second largest river in the world, with a length exceeding 3000 miles, draining a basin of over 1,300,000 square miles, and discharging into the Atlantic Ocean a volume of water exceeded by that of the Amazon alone. The tributaries of the Middle and Lower Congo have been explored by Lieutenant Wissmann of the German army, the Rev. Mr Grenfell, Dr Ludwig Wolf, Dr Junker and other travellers. A vast forest region, choked with vegetable creepers, tall plants and climbing growths, was discovered, and in the Akkas, averaging only four feet in height, and other dwarf tribes of the regions traversed, including the pigmy Batwas, the smallest known specimens of mankind were found. At a later period Stanley discovered Lakes Leopold and Mantumba. De Brazza, a French explorer of Italian descent, a naval officer serving on the Gaboon station, made great explorations between 1876 and 1878 in the country of the Ogowé, and among the northern tributaries of the Congo. In subsequent years, aided with large funds by the French Government, he obtained large grants of territory for his nation to the north of the Congo system, establishing many stations, and becoming governor in 1886 of the dependency which he had secured between the Congo and the Gaboon Rivers.

The greatest African explorer, after Livingstone, was Joseph Thomson, who died in August 1895, at the age of thirty-seven. This rank must be fairly assigned to this eminent Scot, a native of Dumfriesshire, when we compare his achievements with his slender means. He did not go forth with small armies at his back, but was aided by little more than his stout heart, his devotion to his task, his thirst for knowledge, his zeal for the good of his fellow-men. With a born passion for travel and adventure, fed by the perusal in youthful days of the travels of Mungo Park, Bruce, Moffat and Livingstone, he ever dreamed of African exploration, and qualified himself for the work by botanical and geological excursions in southern Scotland, and by the winning of honours in scientific study at Edinburgh University. In 1878, at twenty years of age, he was appointed 'geologist and naturalist' to the Royal Geographical Society's expedition in East Africa, headed by Keith Johnston the younger. In June 1879, within a month of starting from the coast at Zanzibar, the chief fell a victim to dysentery, and Thomson succeeded to the command. The object of the enterprise was to discover a practical route to the interior and to explore the country between Lakes Nyassa and Tanganyika. This work was performed with great success, and, in addition to the labour prescribed by the Society, Thomson did much exploration on the western side of Tanganyika. In 1883-4, heading another expedition under the same auspices, he made a great journey from Mombasa, by Mounts Kilima-Njaro and Kenia, through the country of the Masai, who are among the most ferocious savages in the world, neither negroes nor Bantus in race, but of splendid stature and exquisite shape, warriors in youth and manhood until near middle age, and then marrying and settling down as breeders of cattle. The main peak of Kilima-Njaro was ascended to a height exceeding 16,000 feet. With health much shattered by

his exertions, Thomson was then engaged by the National African Company, the original of the Royal Niger Company, to proceed up the Niger and make treaties to secure the country on its banks. In March 1885, after being delayed by illness, the Scottish explorer entered the Niger mouth, and with wonderful speed made his way to Sokoto and Gando, concluding treaties with the Sultans, and gaining them over to the Company's interest. Above 300 treaties in all were made with native chiefs, securing for the Company the navigable part of the great commercial highway of West Africa, and of its mighty tributary, the Benué. The practical effect of these treaties has proved to be the annexation of a vast and valuable territory to the British Empire. A free way to the very heart of the western Sudan had been opened, affording access to Europeans who would be received with a welcome instead of with suspicion or hostility, and a region of great commercial promise had been brought within reach of British enterprise. We may note that Thomson, during his journey of 1878-80, was the discoverer of the lake called by him Lake Leopold, in honour of the King of the Belgians.

The 'partition of Africa,' effected in an international rush and scramble without precedent in the history of the world, was caused by a fever of rivalry in commercial affairs among great European states seeking for new markets when America, Australia, India and the East had become glutted with the goods manufactured by their people. The initiative in the work of division has been ascribed to Germany, awakening, after her great success against France, to thoughts of colonial dominion, and of new commercial enterprise, and to the ambition of Leopold II., King of the Belgians, a man of restless, energetic character, eager to promote commerce, specially fond of geographical research. In 1876 he summoned the Brussels Conference to discuss the questions of the

exploration and civilisation of the continent, and the means of opening up the interior of Africa to the commerce, industry, and scientific enterprise of the European world. The meeting was attended by delegates, not in any way representing the respective Governments, of Great Britain, France, Germany, Russia, Italy, Austria-Hungary and Belgium. An International African Association, with its headquarters at Brussels, was formed, and national committees began to collect subscriptions to further the work. As an international enterprise, the movement begun at Brussels was soon at an end, and the national scramble began in the rivalry of Stanley and De Brazza, or, in their persons, of Belgium and France, in the Congo region, with Portugal awaking from the drowsiness of ages to assert her rights on the great river. The details of the great partition are beyond the scope of this work, and may be sought in those excellent books, Mr Arthur Silva White's *Development of Africa* and Mr J. Scott Keltie's *Partition of Africa.* The International Berlin Conference of 1884-85, with its recognition of the Belgian 'Congo Free State,' and its 'General Act,' making provision for freedom of trade in Congo territory, for the navigation of the Niger and its tributaries, and other matters, was an important event, followed by various 'conventions'—Franco-German, Franco-Portuguese, Anglo-German, German-Portuguese; by Anglo-German and Anglo-French agreements in 1890, an Anglo-Portuguese arrangement in 1891, and by negotiations between Great Britain and France concerning disputed boundaries in the Niger basin, which were not ended until 1898. The territorial results of the division of much of the continent between the chief European nations will be shortly seen, along with the work of the new chartered companies which have of late years played so important a part in African affairs.

CHAPTER X

GREAT BRITAIN IN SOUTH, CENTRAL AND EAST AFRICA, 1875-1898

THE history of Cape Colony and of Natal has been traced down to 1878. In that year serious trouble arose with the Zulu Kaffirs, already seen in this record. Panda, the younger brother of Dingaan, had succeeded to his rule, as we have seen, and he became independent of Natal in 1843, with the Buffalo and Tugela Rivers as the settled northern boundary of the British colony. He was a man devoid of mental or physical energy after his accession to power—a peaceful potentate who maintained a firm alliance with his white neighbours. The discipline of the army was much relaxed, but the military system established by Tshaka (Chaka) was retained. The young warriors, mindful of the nation's warlike past, wanted a worthy leader, and they found him in their king's eldest son, Cetewayo. A civil war in which about one-fourth of the Zulu males, with many women and children, perished, took place between parties headed by Cetewayo and his younger brother Umbulazi. In 1856 the former triumphed in a great battle on the Tugela, where Umbulazi and a large number of his supporters fell. Thenceforth Cetewayo was co-king with his father, and virtual ruler of Zululand, succeeding to full kingship on Panda's death in 1872. Of fine person, dignified demeanour, great mental ability, high courage, and ruthless cruelty towards opponents, the Zulu sovereign ruled with a rod of iron, restoring the old military

discipline, and making his people truly formidable as the most energetic and fearless natives in South Africa.

The arrival of Sir Bartle Frere, formerly Governor of Bombay, as Governor of Cape Colony and High Commissioner, was the signal for war. Cetewayo was in an irritated state because the Natal Government had interfered, in the interests of peace, between himself and the Transvaal Boers, who had annexed some territory claimed by the Zulus. The annexation of the Transvaal by Great Britain in 1877—a momentous transaction which opened a new era in South Africa—destroyed the balance of power in that region, bringing British authority face to face with the Zulus. The High Commissioner, with his Indian views as to native potentates in presence of British power, was unable to endure the standing menace of Cetewayo's army in existence close to the Natal frontier, and promptly summoned him to disband his forces and change his stern system of rule, with the demand of an answer within thirty days. The reply of the Zulu King to this audacious ultimatum was contemptuous silence, and on January 10th 1879 British forces, under Lord Chelmsford, crossed the frontier in three divisions, composed of British soldiers, colonists, well-drilled, brave Basutos, and some other native allies of little value. The chief events which followed are well known. On January 22nd the centre column, under Lord Chelmsford, was encamped about 10 miles east of the ford on the Buffalo (Tugela) River called Rorke's Drift, at a point on the march for Cetewayo's 'kraal,' or capital, Ulundi. To the north of the camp was a solitary hill called Insandhlwana (Isandula). During the absence of half the troops, with the General, the men at camp were suddenly assailed by a great force of Zulus, and slain almost to the last man, overwhelmed by fierce rushes, like those of the Arab warriors in the Sudan, made by men armed with a heavy, broad-bladed spear for close fighting, several lighter jave-

lins or assegais for hurling, a hard-wood club and a large oval shield. In this disastrous action there fell 26 officers and about 600 non-commissioned officers and men of the 24th Regiment, and 24 officers and as many rank and file of the Natal Volunteers and the Natal Native Horse (Basutos). Two guns, all the waggons and oxen, 1200 rifles, and a great quantity of ammunition and other stores were carried off by the foe. Natal was saved from immediate invasion by the historic defence, one of the finest military achievements, of the minor class, of modern days, maintained on the evening of that dreadful day at Rorke's Drift, by Lieutenants Bromhead of the 24th Regiment and Chard of the Royal Engineers. These heroes, in command of men like unto themselves, about 100 effectives, chiefly of the 24th, defended some weak buildings, with some parapets composed of bags of mealies (Indian corn) and biscuit boxes, for twelve hours, including the night of January 22nd, against the determined attacks of 4000 Zulus, who left nearly 400 bodies on the ground when they retired at the approach of Lord Chelmsford's column. Large numbers of blood-stained shields showed that many more slain or wounded Kaffirs had been carried off. The defenders of the post had 17 men killed and 10 wounded. Surgeon Reynolds and the Rev. George Smith, acting-chaplain to the forces, showed conspicuous gallantry, and the name of Rorke's Drift became immortal in the records of the British Army.

At the end of January the situation of the British forces, as regarded the enemy, was that Colonel Pearson, having defeated the Zulus who tried to stay his advance, had a firm hold of the south of their country in a strongly-fortified position at Etshowe, with about 1100 European troops and a good supply of food and ammunition; that Colonel Evelyn Wood, to the north, had formed a strong entrenched camp at Kambula Hill, and that Rorke's Drift, now well fortified, was held by the remains of the

third column. The frontier of Natal was thus secured, and it remained to strike an effective blow at Zulu power. Strong reinforcements arrived from England and other parts of the empire, while Wood was making daring raids on Zululand, aided by Colonel Redvers Buller at the head of the colonial horsemen. On the other hand, a convoy was surprised by the watchful and active savages, with the loss of a captain and 62 men of the 80th Regiment. On March 27th Lord Chelmsford took the field again with a strong column, comprising the 57th and 91st Regiments, eleven companies of the 60th and 99th, two of the Buffs, a naval brigade, about 300 mounted infantry and natives, and a few field guns, rocket tubes and Gatlings. In all he had about 5650 men, three-fifths of whom were white troops. After the severe lesson of Insandhlwana, no precaution was neglected, the force being kept well together by day, marching over open ground towards Etshowe, and covered by reconnoitring parties of mounted men. At night the men slept within a waggon laager with a shelter trench, one company of each regiment keeping ready for immediate action. At daybreak on April 2nd, when the troops were encamped near a little stream called the Ginginhlovo, the Zulus came on in several dense columns. They were met at 1000 yards by the fire of Gatlings, but still surged forward in all the strange splendour of their leopard skin cloaks, feathered crests, necklets and knee knots of white ox tails, and coloured shields, singing a war song, and keeping time thereto in rhythmic dance. At 300 yards from the trenches round the laager, a hail of fire from the breechloaders burst upon their terrible array, but the rush continued, and some warriors arrived within a score of yards from the northern angle of the camp. One desperate charge after another was made at different points, the great *induna* Dabulamanzi showing heroic courage as a leader; but all melted away before the continuous stream of bullets, and

a charge of cavalry drove the enemy away in rout with very heavy loss. The victors lost 2 officers and 9 non-coms. and men killed, and 6 officers and 46 non-coms. and men were wounded.

Colonel Pearson's garrison was then withdrawn from Etshowe to the frontier, and a regular invasion of Zululand was planned. Colonel Wood had, meanwhile, despatched a body of mounted troops and native infantry, under Colonels Russell and Redvers Buller, to attack the Zulus on the Inhloblane Mountain, a flattish eminence about 3 miles long, at 15 miles' distance east of Kambula. The force, about 1400 men in all, ascended the mountain at two different points, overcoming the enemy and seizing many cattle, but the men were then compelled to retreat by the advance of many thousands of Zulus from the north. Severe loss was incurred before the troops regained the laager at Kambula. On March 29th that position, defended by under 2000 men of all arms, was attacked in great force, but every charge was repulsed with heavy loss, and Redvers Buller's pursuit of 7 miles forced the lesson home, with a loss to the British and native allies of 8 officers and 75 men killed and wounded, mostly stricken with bullets from the rifles captured by the Zulus from the 24th Regiment on the fatal day of Insandhlwana. By the middle of April, reinforcements to the number of about 400 officers, 10,000 men and 2000 horses, had reached Natal, and a large force took the field in a march upon Ulundi. On June 1st the Prince Imperial of France, serving as a volunteer with the artillery, was killed, in command of a reconnoitring party, by Zulus in ambush. On June 27th, Cetewayo, whose army had by this time lost many thousands of men, applied for terms, but the negotiations came to naught, and on July 4th the invaders, over 4000 Europeans and about 1000 natives, with 12 guns and 2 Gatlings, were near the Zulu capital. Under cover of the cavalry, the

men marched in a hollow rectangle, and halted at about a mile and a half from the town on the approach of the enemy in force. The horsemen fell back and entered the rectangle, and the Zulu warriors advanced, firing, in a great, converging circle. The bullets were ill-aimed, from lack of practice with the rifles. At a distance, the British artillery fired shell with great effect; at closer quarters, the breechloaders and Gatlings shattered the foe to pieces. The 17th Lancers, issuing from the rear-face of the rectangle, then charged the Zulus and broke them up, after a loss to the victors of 3 officers and 10 men killed, and 18 officers and 60 men wounded.

The battle of Ulundi ended the Zulu war. Sir Garnet Wolseley had now arrived as commander of the forces, Governor of Natal, and special High Commissioner for the territories north and east of Natal and the Transvaal, to that extent superseding the authority of Sir Bartle Frere, who was recalled in 1880. In August Cetewayo was hunted down, through the treachery or fear of a Zulu, in a secluded kraal on the border of a forest, and sent as a prisoner to Cape Town. He conducted himself with the utmost propriety, and was soon allowed to reside on a small farm near that of Langalibaléle, the fallen chieftain from Natal. His conquered country was divided into thirteen districts, each under a chieftain, with a British 'Resident.' The result was anarchy, and in 1883 Cetewayo was restored to a portion of his former authority, with two-thirds of the territory. He had visited England prior to his restoration, residing for some time in Kensington, impressing all persons favourably by his dignity of demeanour and good sense, and showing a remarkable but in nowise immoderate appreciation of champagne. Part of the remaining third of Zululand was placed under a chief of the royal house named Usipebu, a former opponent of Cetewayo, and warfare ensued between the parties of the rivals. The former conqueror of British

troops had the worst of this struggle, and in February 1884 he died, a broken, worn-out man, a fugitive under British protection, at Etshowe. Cetewayo's son, Dinizulu, with the aid of some restless Boer 'trekkers' from the Transvaal, became 'King of Zululand,' defeating Usibepu, and a Boer state, styled the 'New Republic,' was set up on land which he conceded to the Dutchmen. The British Government, in December 1884, secured the seaboard by hoisting the flag at St Lucia Bay. In 1887, the remaining portion of Zululand was annexed to the Empire, and divided into six districts, each under a magistrate, with soldiers and police. The ephemeral 'New Republic,' now known as the Vryheid District, was incorporated in 1888 with the South African (Transvaal) Republic. Dinizulu, arrested for disturbing British arrangements, was sent with two other chiefs, in 1889, to reside at St Helena. Since that time the land has enjoyed peace, with a territory enlarged towards the north and north-east.

Cape Colony was increased in 1879 by the annexation of the Kaffir country known as Fingoland, the Idutywa Reserve (a district in the Transkei country, formerly assigned to friendly Kaffirs) and Griqualand East. In 1885 Tembuland and Galekaland were added to the territory. Between 1880 and 1889 the post of Governor of Cape Colony and High Commissioner for South Africa was thrice held by Sir Hercules Robinson, G.C.M.G. (the late Lord Rosmead), a veteran colonial ruler who had well served his country as governor in Hong Kong, Ceylon, the West Indies, New South Wales and elsewhere. Progress during this period was shown in the extension of the railway system to Kimberley, the diamond centre in Griqualand West, and in December 1887 the South African Jubilee Exhibition was opened at Grahamstown. In 1890 a man of remarkable ability, energy and ambition, Mr Cecil J. Rhodes, became Premier of Cape Colony. Born in 1853, a younger son of the

Vicar of Bishop-Stortford, in Hertfordshire, in youth he visited Natal, where his brother was growing cotton. In 1872 he returned to England and entered at Oriel College, Oxford. A bad chill caught after rowing affected his lungs, and again he went to Africa, in search of life and health. He won both, and more. In the diamond fields, toiling with his brother from Natal, in the days of individual enterprise and rough-and-ready surface work, he acquired an enormous fortune. Prudence, determination, imagination were among the young Rhodes' many gifts. His restless energy led him into various mechanical schemes with 'money in them,' through their utility to mankind. With a career in South Africa he managed to combine that of an Oxford undergraduate, returning to his studies at Oriel in 1876 with health restored in the pure air of the Veldt, rushing off to the diamond fields in every 'Long,' and taking his degree in 1881. His mind had been already dwelling on the future of the South Africa where his fame was to be won as the greatest man, for good or evil, in that region of the world. A dreamer of dreams—some of which, at least, have been nobly realised—he had, in 1878, mapped out his whole policy as a South African ruler of men. He aimed first at the amalgamation of the diamond mines, as a preliminary furnishing means for a second achievement—the British occupation of the territory now called 'Rhodesia.' In 1877, at Kimberley, unrolling a map of Africa, he pointed up from the Cape to the Zambesi, and cried to his friend, 'That's my dream—all this to be English.' The world knows that this and far more has been accomplished. The amalgamation of the diamond mines was completed in 1888, with an agreement among the three men who held the chief interest in the properties at Kimberley—Mr Rhodes, Mr Alfred Beit, and Mr 'Barney' J. Barnato — that Rhodes should be empowered to use the profits of the De Beers Mine

From a Photograph by Russell & Sons.

Walter L. Colls, Ph. Sc.

Right Hon. C. J. Rhodes.

for the acquisition of the unoccupied regions of the north. Thus were diamonds brought to bear, in Barnato's words, on the 'making of an empire.' Among his other gifts, Rhodes had an extraordinary power of winning the liking and confidence of natives. He employs no white servants, but all are native boys, many of whom come from Matabeleland and Mashonaland. Such a man could not fail quickly to make his mark in Cape politics. Entering the House of Assembly as member for Barkly, he was soon in the Cape Ministry; and in 1890, as above, he became Prime Minister, with the establishment of a federal South African dominion under the British flag as the backbone of his policy.

Before passing out of Cape Colony proper, we note that the Governor and High Commissioner was, in 1898, Sir Alfred Milner, K.C.B., a man of excellent qualities for such a post, and that, with an area of 272,000 square miles, the population is at least one and three-quarter millions, of whom about 400,000 are European or white. The revenue in 1896 nearly approached seven millions sterling, with a considerable balance (half a million) over expenditure. The imports in 1896 were near to nineteen millions in value, and the exports about seventeen millions.

The adjacent colony of Natal has fairly increased in prosperity since the days of the Zulu War, partly owing to the gold production in the Transvaal promoting the transport trade through the colony, and creating a market for her agricultural products. In 1893 Natal came under responsible government, with a quadrennial Legislative Assembly elected by voters qualified in a moderate amount of real property, or £10 annual rent, or an income of £96 per annum, with three years' residence in the colony. There are about 50,000 Europeans, 43,000 Indian coolies, and nearly half a million Kaffirs. The revenue—one and a half millions—much exceeds the expenditure; the imports are about five and

a half millions, largely for the transit trade to the interior; the exports about one and three-quarter millions.

The little state called Basutoland, nearly the size of Belgium, to the north-east of Cape Colony, with a fine climate, well watered, and producing on its rugged, broken plateau abundance of grass for the vast herds of cattle, had its origin in a treaty concluded by the Cape Government in 1843 with a wise, powerful, energetic and able chieftain named Moshesh. The son of a petty chief, he became by far the most distinguished black ruler in South Africa, through his diplomatic and military skill, his power of organisation, and his capacity for ruling his fellow-men. About 1820 he began to form a compact political body out of the remnants of various tribes, rendering aid to all in need, treating all on an equal footing, conciliating his strong neighbours, the Zulus, in the time of Tshaka and Dingaan, by an artful show of submission and by payment of tribute, and making a capital at Thaba Bosigo, an impregnable mountain stronghold. His admirable tact towards other powers was shown in 1831, when a Matabele force vainly besieged Thaba Bosigo, and was at last compelled to retreat by want of food. Moshesh, with words of friendship, sent a supply of provisions enough to take them home, and was for ever afterwards unassailed from that quarter. Natives in trouble, refugees from all regions, came to settle under his protecting care, and the missionaries of all sects were welcomed as those who brought with them civilising arts. The power of the Basuto leader was solidified by his formal recognition, in 1843, as ruler not only of his own territory, but of a large vacant region north of the Orange River, and of the lands on the lower Caledon. This arrangement was soon the source of trouble. Native chieftains on the Caledon repudiated the authority of Moshesh, and in 1848 the impetuous British Governor, Sir Harry Smith, in form-

ing the Orange River Sovereignty, deprived the Basuto ruler of a large part of his dominions.

Thenceforth Moshesh began to intrigue against British power, with the inevitable result of war. A small force of British troops and farmers, with a number of natives, took the field against a chieftain dependent on the Basuto sovereign, and under Major Warden, British Resident at Bloemfontein, they were defeated on June 30th 1851 at Viervoet Hill. The Kaffir war, then in full swing, prevented Sir Harry Smith from obtaining due redress for this check. Basuto bands then made raids on European colonists and the tribes not owning allegiance to Moshesh, and in 1852, after dealing with the Kosa Kaffirs, Sir George Cathcart marched for Platberg, on the Caledon River, with a powerful force of British troops—about 2000 infantry, 500 horse and 2 guns. An ultimatum was sent to the Basuto ruler demanding the delivery, within three days, of 10,000 cattle and 1000 horses as compensation for the victims of his people's plundering. Full submission not being made, the British general advanced towards Thaba Bosigo, beyond the river, opposite Platberg, entering the country in three divisions. Both Cathcart and his subordinates underrated the enemy's power and skill, and on December 20th 1852, at the battle of Berea Mountain, virtual defeat was incurred by the invaders of Basutoland. One column was led into an ambush, severely handled and forced to retreat. The body led by the General in person was checked by 6000 Basuto horsemen, armed with European weapons, and on the following day the British withdrew to their camp after losing between 60 and 70 men, including 37 killed. The prudent victor at once called in the aid of the pen of one of his friendly missionaries, and sent in a letter asking for peace. Sir George Cathcart gladly embraced the offer, and withdrew his forces, greatly against the wish of some of his officers, leaving Moshesh to work his will on other opponents.

The Basuto ruler plunged into a ruthless war with the newly-made Orange River Free State, plundering the herds of white farmers, and having much the better of the struggle with the armed 'burghers' through his skilful strategy. Sir George Grey, in 1858, was accepted as mediator, and his decision left the Basutos in possession of much more territory than the portion allowed by Sir Harry Smith. Under Sir Philip Wodehouse as Governor of Cape Colony, the boundary was again reduced to Sir Harry Smith's line, and the Free State was ravaged by Basuto horsemen, with the slaughter of many settlers. The burgher forces gained some victories in the field, and took some strongholds, but Thaba Bosigo could not be captured, and, after a year's truce, war was renewed. Moshesh was now, in 1868, after nearly 50 years of active life, unfit to command, and had no substitute. One fastness after another was occupied by the enemy, some of his people fell away, the Basutos were reduced to straits by the destruction of granaries and the wasting of crops, and the tribe, driven up into the mountains, suffered much from disease and famine. In this extremity an appeal was made for British intervention, and the Basutos, at the request of Moshesh, became British subjects in March 1868.

Soon afterwards Moshesh died, and in 1871 the territory, limited by large concessions to the Orange Free State, was annexed to Cape Colony, with a general use of the Bantu law. Peace quickly brought a restoration of prosperity, and all was well until 1879, when a chieftain named Moirosi rebelled. After some fighting on difficult ground, his mountain stronghold was captured at the end of the year. More disturbance came from an attempt to introduce European settlers and the application of an Act for disarming natives. A general Basuto revolt occurred, and great expense, with little success, marked the warfare waged by the colonial forces. In 1881 Sir Hercules Robinson, the High Commissioner, intervened, and con-

cessions as to disarmament brought a cessation of hostilities, followed by an Act of 1884 transferring Basutoland to Imperial control as a Crown colony, with all legislative and executive authority vested in the High Commissioner. A 'Resident Commissioner' holds sway, with his headquarters at the capital, Maseru, and Assistant Commissioners, in seven districts, have authority shared with hereditary chiefs. There are about 250,000 Bantu natives, with a few hundred Europeans, all of whom are officials, missionaries or traders. The territory is strictly maintained as a native reserve, no European settlement being allowed, and the whole country does not contain a single recognised canteen or 'drinking shop.' All the schools—except two Government and some industrial, out of nearly 150, with over 7500 pupils—are connected with the missionary societies, the chief organisation of that class being the excellent Paris Evangelical Mission. In 1891 the country entered the Customs Union existing between Cape Colony and Orange Free State; in the following year the telegraph wires were extended to Maseru. Good progress is being made in population, and in agricultural and pastoral wealth under the influence of a few British officials, who have won the confidence of a native population remarkable among the peoples of South Africa for a jealous conservatism as to land claims, tribal customs and the general rights of property.

British Bechuanaland, formerly a Crown colony, incorporated with Cape Colony in November 1895, is a territory about the size of England, on the central plateau of South Africa, with an average elevation of 4000 feet above sea level. The country is mostly pastoral, with extensive woods in the north-east, a dry and very healthy climate, and a very fertile soil. This favourite scene of missionary labour for Livingstone, Moffat and many other earnest pioneers of Christianity and civilisation, suffered much from the unscrupulous Boers who 'trekked' northwards

from Cape Colony. After the Boer war of 1881 there was trouble between two chiefs and their rivals, the latter being victorious through the interested aid of the Boers of the Transvaal. The Boer Government then made a 'peace and settlement,' which included the confiscation of territory belonging to one of the defeated chieftains. The Government of Cape Colony promptly interfered with this iniquitous arrangement, and Sir Charles Warren, sent out as Special Commissioner in 1884, entered the country with 4000 men of all arms, including 2000 irregular cavalry. He met with no resistance from the Boers or natives, and, remaining in the territory until August 1885, he organised the Crown colony as above, and also proclaimed, as the 'British Bechuanaland Protectorate,' the land between the Molopo River on the south and the Zambesi on the north, with the Transvaal Republic and Matabeleland on the east, and German South-West Africa on the west, having a total area of about 213,000 square miles. A magnificent province was thus peacefully added to the British Empire, with a population estimated at 200,000, including the Bamangwato tribe, ruled by the excellent chief named Khama, a real Christian, if conduct be the test, as a good ruler, an enemy of alcoholic liquors, and a friend of education. In 1896 there was a revolt of some of the chiefs, followed by much fighting with colonial forces; in August 1897 it was practically ended by the surrender of the rebel leaders.

We must now deal with the rise of some great Chartered Companies as pioneers of trade, of mineral, agricultural and pastoral development, and of the expansion of the British Empire. There have been many such companies in African history, associations Portuguese, English, British, Dutch, French, Austrian, German, and Anglo-German, from the days of Queen Elizabeth to the latter period of Queen Victoria's reign. No company has surpassed, in importance of achievement, the famous

British South Africa Company, chartered by the Crown in October 1889, with Mr Cecil Rhodes, its originator and guiding spirit, as managing director. The chief sphere of the Company's operations was to be 'the region of South Africa lying north of British Bechuanaland, and north and west of the South African Republic.' In 1891 the powers of the charter were extended to the region north of the Zambesi, with the exception of Nyassaland. The capital, one million sterling, mostly derived from subscribing shareholders, could be applied to the making and maintenance of roads, railways, telegraphs and other necessary works, and the clearing, planting, irrigation and tillage of lands; and the Company had power to make concessions for mining, timber-cutting and other industries, and to grant lands on various conditions. Reports were to be annually made to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, who had a general controlling power over the political and administrative operations. We must now look into the previous history of the territories in the Company's sphere, comprising Matabeleland, Mashonaland and Northern Zambesia, the whole being styled 'Rhodesia,' a term first officially used in a proclamation of the Company dated May 1st 1895.

Moselekatse, the commander of a division of the Zulu army in the days of Tshaka (Chaka), and a man renowned among the Zulus and beloved by his soldiers as a shedder of human blood, was forced to flee, about 1817, from the wrath of his master, enraged by the reservation of certain spoil obtained in warfare. The warrior and his followers crossed into territory now belonging to the South African Republic, and there a new military state was founded. Thus arose the Matabele people, not a homegeneous tribe, but a body of soldiers. The people found in their new home were exterminated, with the exception of the best-looking women, and the young men employed first as slaves and then as army recruits. There may have been

ten thousand warriors as the nucleus of the new power, who settled down in military 'kraals' of the Zulu style, and slew and plundered Bechuanas in all directions. We have seen Moselekatse's fighting men in unsuccessful conflict with the Basutos at Thaba Bosigo, and also how they were driven out to the north, about twenty years after their first migration, by the Boers of the 'great trek' from Cape Colony. Their new habitation was known as Matabeleland. Mashonaland, to the east of Matabeleland proper, is inhabited by people not physically or morally strong, lowered in character by Matabele tyranny, but good at tillage and native handicrafts. At the time when the South Africa Company was formed most of the territory of Matabeleland and Mashonaland was subject to Lobengula (or Lo Bengula), son of Moselekatse, and the strongest native chieftain south of the Zambesi, as the possessor of a great, disciplined army of warriors.

It was a German writer in the *Berlin Geographical Journal*, Ernst von Weber, who first, in 1880, drew attention to Matabeleland as a suitable scene of colonisation. Sir Bartle Frere thereupon urged the extension of the British 'sphere of influence' as far as the Zambesi. The Boers of the Transvaal were also known to be hankering after expansion of their territory in the same direction, north of the Limpopo River. Not only were there rumours of rich gold mines in the territory, but in 1870 an English company had been formed for working an auriferous district in the south-west of Matabeleland. Travellers and sportsmen gave most favourable accounts of the climate and of the character of Mashonaland for European settlement and tillage. Lobengula had a hereditary feeling of friendship for the British, with whom his father Moselekatse had concluded a treaty in 1836, and when the Portuguese, awaking from the drowsiness of a lengthy past, also began to put in claims to Matabeleland, the British Government sent an agent

to Lobengula at his kraal, or capital, Bulawayo. This negotiator, the Rev. J. Smith Moffat, formerly for many years a missionary in Matabeleland, and having great influence over Lobengula, held the post of Assistant-Commissioner in Bechuanaland. He persuaded the king, already uneasy between the Boers and the Portuguese, to seek British intervention, and in March 1888, Sir Hercules Robinson, Governor of Cape Colony and High Commissioner for South Africa, made a treaty whereby Lobengula undertook to make no agreement with any foreign power, nor sell or concede any part of his territory, without the sanction of the British Government. Treaties or conventions of 1890 and 1891 defined German limits to the west, the Transvaal boundary to the south, at the Limpopo River, and the Portuguese boundary to the east, and the region of Matabeleland and Mashonaland, or Southern Rhodesia, was thus guarded from all foreign interference.

Prior to these last arrangements, the South Africa Company, having the way cleared by the treaty with Lobengula, proceeded to occupy the region assigned for its operations. It was a great day in the history of the 'expansion of England' when, on June 28th 1890, a body of about 200 chosen pioneers and a force of 500 armed police started northwards from the Macloutsie River, a tributary of the Limpopo, and made their way, over 400 miles of the gradually rising plateau, to Mount Hampden in Mashonaland. A route on the east side of Matabeleland was taken, at the desire of the king, in order to avoid all risk of collision with his *indunas*, the commanders of the *impis*, or regiments of young warriors, about 15,000 strong, jealous of the presence of white men, eager to 'wash their spears,' in the Zulu phrase, and hard to restrain. Under the guidance of the famous hunter, Mr Frederick Courteney Selous, who knew the region better than any other white man living, the expedition arrived near Mount Hampden

on September 12th, having made a rough kind of road on the march. Forts were constructed at Tuli, Victoria, Charter, and at Salisbury, near Mount Hampden; and at the last place there was soon a town with many of the appliances of civilisation—hotels and hospitals, churches and clubs, lawyers and land-agents, stores, newspapers, a racecourse and a sanitary board. The pioneers were disbanded, and various parties began to peg off claims in the auriferous quartz districts of Mashonaland. The adventurers had some initial trouble in the very rainy season of 1890-91, and many deaths and much suffering came from the lack of medicines and proper food. Prosperity then began to dawn, and in September 1891, within a year of the occupation, there were over 10,000 mining claims allotted in the six goldfields which had been opened. The new-comers were, however, destined to have to assert possession of Matabeleland and Mashonaland, not merely by concession, from its ruler, of a British 'protectorate' and right of occupation, but by conquest.

It was inevitable that war should come between the new occupants of the territory and the restless warriors of Lobengula. Mashonaland was under British protection, but Matabele raids on the people were continued, and in July 1893, the High Commissioner authorised the Company's 'Administrator,' Dr Jameson, to take all due measures for the protection of the British settlers and of the Mashonas. The Company's few hundreds of irregular troops and police were gathered for action. At Tuli, on the frontier, 140 miles south of Bulawayo, were 250 armed whites; at Victoria, 200 miles north-east of Tuli, and east of Bulawayo, a second column of 400 Europeans was formed; at Fort Salisbury, 190 miles north of Victoria, about 260 whites were mustered. The whole force, under 1000 men, were well supplied with ammunition and had some of the invaluable Maxim guns. On September 25th the men of the Salisbury and Victoria columns, having

crossed the Matoppo Hills as they marched on Bulawayo, the enemy's capital, and formed a double laager on the slope beyond the Shangani River, were attacked before daylight by a body of 5000 Matabele. The steady fire of the breechloaders and the hail of bullets from the Maxims repulsed three assaults with severe loss, and cleared the way for the advance. On November 1st, at two days' march from the royal kraal, in a laager hastily made on open ground, the British were again attacked by the choicest regiments or *impis*, numbering 7000 men. As they charged from the bush with the usual undaunted valour of the Zulus, the enemy fell by hundreds without being able to approach the defenders, and at last relinquished their efforts. The victors in this combat, two days later, found Bulawayo abandoned by the natives and in flames. Two white traders, protected by Lobengula with admirable good faith and generosity, were there intact, along with their goods. Another column, composed of the Tuli force and the Imperial Police of the Bechuanaland Protectorate, which had become involved in the war, mustering in all 440 Europeans, was marching on Bulawayo when, on November 2nd, the waggons in the rear of the column were attacked by the Matabele. The attempt was repulsed with loss on both sides, and the capture of Bulawayo, becoming known to the natives who were harassing the advance on both flanks, caused their dispersal. On November 12th Major Goold Adams, the leader, brought his men to the capital, meeting there Major Forbes, the successful commander of the other forces, and Dr Jameson, the Administrator of Mashonaland.

These events were followed by the famous affair known in our military and colonial history as 'the Shangani patrol.' Lobengula had fled northwards with a considerable body of his men from Bulawayo, and a small force under Major Allan Wilson was sent forward

to track the King in his retreat. His party, composed of himself and 33 troopers, was the advance guard of 300 men under Major Forbes, and having crossed the Shangani in following the king's trail, they were separated from the main body by the river's sudden rise through the heavy rains. On December 4th 1893 they were surrounded by a great body of the enemy, and, all disdaining to attempt escape by the speed of their horses, were killed to the last man. A heavy fire was poured in upon them from the bush on all sides. When the horses had fallen the men formed into a close ring and kept up a steady fire with rifles and revolvers against every rush. When a man was wounded he lay down, and, if he could, fired still from his prone position, or handed up his ammunition to his comrades. At last all were either killed or so severely wounded that they could fire no more, with the exception of one big man, who, in the words of the chieftain who described the event, 'would not die.' He took his stand on the top of a large ant-heap in an open space, gathered round him a number of revolvers and rifles lately wielded by the slain, with plenty of ammunition, and slew a number of his countless assailants. The Matabele, taking him for a wizard who could not be slain or exhausted, though they saw the blood of his wounds, were awed by the aspect of this splendid Briton picking up weapon after weapon and shooting in all directions with wonderful aim—in front, to each flank and over his shoulders—whenever a foeman came towards him out of the bush. Shot at last in the hip, he fired on, sitting down, and the fight was ended by the stabbing of assegais only when he sank exhausted from loss of blood. The thirty-four heroes of the Shangani patrol had slain nearly four hundred of the men who assailed them. The brave old warrior Umjan, chief induna of the Imbezu Impi—Lobengula's Royal Regiment—a man who saw the whole conflict, spoke

with the utmost enthusiasm, after his surrender, of the magnificent courage of those who fell. "'Men of men they were,' he cried, 'whose fathers were men of men before them. They fought and died together; those who could have saved themselves chose to remain and die with their brothers.' Then, turning to some of his warriors, who, like himself, had 'come in' to surrender, he said, 'You did not think that white men were as brave as Matabele; now you must see that they are men indeed, to whom you are but as timid girls.' Early in 1894 Lobengula died. Many hundreds of his men, besides those who fell in action, had perished from the fevers of the country and from privation, and the Matabele were glad to surrender 'that they might sleep'—the native phrase for being free from anxiety. A great impression had been made upon the native mind by the fire of the Maxims, regarded as magical gifts of the gods to the white man, and, still more, by the heroism of those who, face to face with a host of Matabele, and devoid of Maxims, had died, and in their death had won the profound respect of those who slew them. The remains were disinterred, and the thirty-four skulls—most of them pierced by bullets—were buried in consecrated ground near some stately ruins due to an unknown religion and civilisation. There they lie, on a bare, rocky mound, amidst dense tropical bush and flowering trees, with a granite monolith raised by Mr Cecil Rhodes to their memory. Assuredly they did not perish in vain, and their countrymen have a ready reply to the timid counsels of 'little Englanders,' and to the sneers of cynics—if such there be—who prate of the degeneracy of modern Englishmen, in a simple reference to some of our builders of empire—the men of the Shangani patrol.

The military system established by Tshaka, and continued by Dingaan, Panda, Cetewayo and Lobengula, was now broken up. It was conclusively proved that no

hosts of native warriors could successfully deal with far inferior bodies of Europeans armed with the most modern weapons. The whole campaign had been carried on at the sole cost of the South Africa Company, without aid from Imperial troops, and, by right of demonstrated power to win and to hold, the Company entered upon the full administration of Matabeleland and Mashonaland, or Southern Rhodesia, under the able direction of Mr Rhodes' chief subordinate, Dr Jameson. There was, however, to be another struggle before the final establishment of peace. In the last days of March 1896 an outbreak of rebellion occurred, partly due to the effect produced on the native mind by the failure of Dr Jameson in his notable 'raid,' an event to be soon dealt with in this record. At the end of 1895 there were about 4000 white settlers in the country, and the prospect of peace and order and civilisation was very unwelcome to the large remaining numbers of disbanded Matabele warriors, who had been wont to thrive on raids into Mashonaland. The natives were, moreover, in a state of distress from the ravages of rinderpest, or cattle plague, which had worked its way downwards from the distant Somaliland, and through the destruction of crops by locusts and drought. They were unable to understand the policy of the British authorities in slaughtering cattle to stay the pestilence among the animals, and seriously believed that the extermination of the Matabele race by starvation was the object in view. A well-concerted plan for the seizure of Bulawayo was formed, and it failed only from premature action on the part of the rebels. The place was put in a state of defence, but nothing could at first be done on behalf of the outlying settlers in many parts of the land, many of whom were slaughtered and plundered without mercy. By the middle of April the whole territory outside the capital and the various forts was in the hands of the Matabele natives. A large force of cavalry and mounted

infantry hurried up from Cape Town and Natal, and volunteers, with some infantry from England, made up a total body of about 5000 men. These were placed in charge of a very experienced commander, Sir Frederick Carrington, and his able direction of affairs in a campaign of several months' duration, was completely successful. There was much hard fighting of small flying columns in the 'bush' against superior numbers of natives. Bulawayo was invested in great force, but never seriously attacked, owing to its strong defences, and on April 25th a three hours' battle near the town ended in the rout of 3000 Matabele. On June 1st Mr Rhodes arrived with a column of troops from Fort Salisbury, and the enemy were again defeated near Bulawayo. In a series of able operations General Carrington had the better of the struggle, relieving Fort Salisbury by a cavalry attack, storming a strong position early in July near Inyati, north-east of Bulawayo, capturing another stronghold in the Matoppo Hills, held by five *impis*, in August, and generally making a strong impression. Mr Rhodes, about the middle of August, had the courage to go unarmed, with five attendants, from Bulawayo, to an interview with chiefs in the Matoppo Hills, and there he persuaded them to terms of peace. The whole contest was soon over, on terms amounting to unconditional surrender, and the natives, face to face with starvation from the capture of their oxen, cows, sheep and goats, and of stores of grain, were conciliated by the supply of present food, and of seed-corn for future crops. The restoration of peace was followed by energetic efforts to retrieve past losses, and to push forward the work of developing the country's resources. The railway from Cape Town, through Bechuanaland to Mafeking, was extended across Khama's country, by November 1897, to Bulawayo, standing on a plateau about 4500 feet above sea level, in one of the finest climates of the world. The place has become a considerable, well-built, modern town,

within three days' journey of the Cape, and three weeks of England. Railways are also connecting Salisbury and other points in Mashonaland with the coast at Beira, south of the Zambesi mouths, and the telegraph system is being extended to Nyassaland and Uganda, in the north. The capital of the South Africa Company has been increased from one to three and a half millions sterling, and a large revenue is derived from mining, trading and professional licenses, and from postal and telegraph services. The whole area of their operations covers about 500,000 square miles—Matabeleland and Mashonaland, or Southern Rhodesia, having together an area of 141,000 square miles, and a population approaching half a million.

We must now turn to 'Northern Rhodesia,' or British Central Africa, a territory extending, with a protectorate, to the southern end of Lake Tanganyika and the western shore of Lake Nyassa, including the district known as the Shiré highlands, the region having been, until recent years, one known only to missionaries, and sportsmen in search of big game. The spread of British influence and enterprise in this region began with Dr Livingstone's great Zambesi travels, extending from 1858 to 1863. Many Scottish and English mission stations arose, and trade, as usual, followed the steps of the spreaders of Christianity and civilised arts. In 1878 a company of Scottish merchants formed the 'Livingstone Central Africa Company,' and the rivers and lakes were opened up to steam navigation. A road was made by a British engineer, James Stewart, between Lakes Nyassa and Tanganyika; coffee plantations were established on the Blantyre highlands; schools, and industries in which the natives were trained, were introduced. The association was afterwards known as the 'African Lakes Company,' and the Lake Nyassa region had been fairly developed by British agency prior to the starting of the British South Africa Company. Jealous attempts at encroachment by Portugal were firmly

met by Lord Salisbury, and an Anglo-Portuguese agreement of 1891, and arrangements made with Germany, defined the boundaries of 'British Central Africa,' and added about 300,000 square miles of the best land in Africa to the British Empire. Early in 1891 the British Government allowed the South Africa Company to extend its sphere of operations to the north of the Zambesi, and in the following year the African Lakes Company was absorbed into the new, vigorous and powerful association. The Arab slave dealers in the country, naturally hostile to the missionaries and honest traders, had given much trouble in the Lake Nyassa region, and had besieged the station of the African Lakes Company at Karonga, but through the services of Captain Lugard, and of Mr (now Sir) H. H. Johnston, formerly British Consul at Mozambique, appointed British Commissioner in Nyassaland, the slave trade was to some extent suppressed, and Portuguese attempts at interference were thwarted.

Mr Johnston also became Commissioner and Consul-General for British Central Africa, and was aided by the Company in his operations with funds to the amount of £10,000 a year. His services proved to be most valuable. Fort Johnston was built at the southern end of Lake Nyassa to hold a certain slave-raiding chief in check. Fort Maguire and the station called Livingstonia arose, the former being named after a promising young officer killed in action with some of the slave raiders. Aided by Sikhs brought from India, a class of soldiers on whom it is probable that British supremacy in those regions of Africa will largely depend, and by two gunboats on Lake Nyassa, Mr Johnston vigorously attacked one of the slave-raiding chiefs, completely defeated him, burnt his town, destroyed some of his slave dhows, and reduced him to submission by March 1894, erecting Fort Maguire on the site of his capital. Other Arab raiders were severely dealt with. In the period from 1895 to 1897

the slave chief Mlozi, of North Nyassa, was overcome in a brilliant campaign, with the storming of his town, and was promptly hanged, after trial by a council of native chiefs. On the western shores of the lake, two of his class were utterly beaten, and the power of the slave system in that region was destroyed. Another chief, named Mwasi, who had formed a confederacy against the British, and closed the important trade route from Lake Nyassa to the Congo, was dealt with in a powerful expedition, with three total defeats of his native army, 20,000 strong, the capture of all his fortified places, and the destruction of fifty of his settlements. All this was achieved with trifling loss to the assailants. One of fourteen chiefs captured was executed for the murder of two British subjects. A large booty of cattle, and some hundreds of rifles or muskets, were also secured. Mwasi's town was replaced by a British fort, and the trade route to the far interior was reopened, while the slave route to the Zambesi was for ever closed. This record of good work, in this quarter, against the curse of Africa, closes with the capture, in 1897, of two other slave-raiding strongholds, the last remaining in all British Central Africa. We may note that the South Africa Company does not control the territory, about 38,000 square miles in area, called the 'British Central Africa Protectorate,' constituted in May 1891, lying along the southern and western shores of Lake Nyassa, and extending towards the Zambesi. This is administered under the Foreign Office by a Commissioner, with its chief town at Blantyre, in the Shiré River highlands, where most of the European population, a few hundreds in number, is found. There are abundant coffee and excellent rice among the products. The armed force consists of Sikhs, native trained troops, and district police with British officers and Sikh and native non-commissioned officers. There is an artillery force with mountain guns, and five gunboats,

manned by British officers and seamen, patrol the Zambesi, the Shiré and Lake Nyassa, running down to Chinde, on the only navigable mouth of the Zambesi. Telegraph wires connect Fort Johnston, Zomba (the seat of government) and Blantyre with Salisbury in Mashonaland, and thence with Cape Town.

British East Africa is a vast territory, with an area probably exceeding 1,000,000 square miles, including three 'protectorates'—the East Africa, Uganda and Zanzibar with Pemba. Under the Anglo-German agreements of 1886 and 1890, it is bounded on the south by German East Africa, lying westwards from Zanzibar; on the west by the Congo Free State, on the line of 30° east longitude, the limits to the north-west being vague, bordering on independent Mohammedan states. On the north, the territory merges indefinitely with the Eastern Sudan region, and is bounded by Abyssinia; on the east we find the Indian Ocean and the Italian 'sphere of influence.' Concessions made by the Sultan of Zanzibar, and agreements with the German and Italian Governments, placed much of this great territory under the administration of the Imperial British East Africa Company (from the initial letters of whose title the region was formerly known as *Ibea*), which was incorporated by royal charter in September 1888. The first work of the Company, with Mr George S. Mackenzie, a man of great experience, as 'administrator,' was to establish headquarters on the coast at Mombasa, to send out pioneer expeditions, lay down routes to the interior, and choose there places for stations or posts. In 1890, through agreements with the chiefs on the way north-west, by the Masai country from Mombasa, Uganda was entered in a peaceful way by the Company's officials. It was found that the coastal region suffered much from want of water; that the great slope upwards included, with much desert area, undulating grassy plains and thickly wooded districts;

and that the great high central plateau, containing Lakes Victoria, Albert, and Albert Edward Nyanza, had much fertile ground. Uganda is a country which has been of much interest from the conflict of Paganism, Christianity and Islâm. Missionary effort among its people, called Waganda, was revived (after work done since 1837 by the Church Missionary Society, with Krapf and Rebmann, whom we have seen in exploration, as pioneers) in 1875 by Stanley's reports, and in 1878 work was vigorously undertaken by a Scottish evangelist, Alexander Mackay. The king, M'tesa, had invited the coming of missionaries, through Mr Stanley, but he did not himself embrace the Christian faith, nor were his subjects forward in so doing. French Catholic missions were also established, and hostile feeling was developed between their agents and the Protestant workers. The death of M'tesa in 1884 brought to power a young successor of ferocious disposition, named M'wanga, and a hot persecution of the Christians began. Hundreds of converted Waganda suffered martyrdom at the stake, and in 1885 Bishop Hannington, of the Church Missionary Society, the first prelate of British Equatorial Africa, was slain by the king's order. The youthful tyrant's sway became so hateful to his subjects that he was driven out in 1888, and the missionaries were expelled under a new sovereign set up by the Arabs. These events brought a political crisis, in which the Christians, strange as it seems, successfully united for M'wanga's restoration, with a view to break down the influence of Islâm. When the Company's agents, Messrs Jackson and Gedge, arrived in Uganda as above, in April 1890, they found an anarchical condition of affairs amidst the intrigues of Protestants, Mohammedans and Catholics—the king greatly favouring the French party, who were aiming at the exclusion of British power.

The situation clearly needed the intervention of a strong man, and he was happily found in Captain F.

D. Lugard, a man of admirable powers as an exploring pioneer, an organiser and a 'manager' of Arabs and native chiefs. He entered the service of the Company in 1890, and, at the instance of the British Government, he was sent as an envoy to M'wanga. With a small body of 300 men, including carriers and camp followers, Lugard arrived at Mengo, the capital of Uganda, in December, and, under his commanding influence, a treaty recognising the supremacy of the Company was signed; the condition of anarchy came to an end, peace and order were restored and trade was resumed. The Protestant and Catholic parties united to inflict a severe defeat, in May 1891, on invading exiled Mohammedans, and Lugard then made a great journey westwards to Lake Albert Edward and elsewhere, winning the confidence of chiefs and their people, and inducing them to recognise the Company's sway. On his return to Mengo, a civil war broke out between the Catholics and Protestant factions early in 1892. Again his influence triumphed over all difficulties. Peace was restored before he left for England in the autumn of that year, and another treaty with M'wanga established British control. By this time the British East Africa Company, unsupported by Imperial funds, was feeling financial pressure, and resolved to quit Uganda altogether. A Special Commissioner, Sir Gerald Portal, Consul-General at Zanzibar, a man of great ability and experience, was despatched by the British Government to report on the condition of affairs, and in March 1893 he arrived at Kampala, the British fort erected close to the capital, Mengo. The Company's flag was hauled down and the Union Jack hoisted, and a new treaty with M'wanga, signed in May 1893, and ratified at the end of 1894, finally established a British Protectorate over the country, binding the king to undertake no warlike operations without permission of the Imperial representative, and to make an end of slave raids and slave trading. In

March 1895 the Company, in exchange for the payment of £250,000, made over to the Imperial Government their charter, property, assets and rights. In August 1896 all the territories in British East Africa, except Zanzibar, Pemba and the Uganda Protectorate, became the 'East Africa Protectorate,' with chief towns in Mombasa, Lamu, Machakos and Kismayu. The total population is estimated at two and a half millions, including 13,500 Asiatics and a few hundreds of Europeans and Eurasians. The capital of the whole Protectorate is Mombasa, with about 25,000 people, and a fine natural harbour, recently much improved by the construction of jetties and other works. A railway is in course of making towards Lake Victoria, in Uganda, and about 150 miles were in working order in 1898. The territory, under the Foreign Office, is governed by a Commissioner and a Consul-General, who is also British Agent at Zanzibar.

In 1896 the Uganda Protectorate, controlled by the Foreign Office, had its boundaries extended so as to include, besides Uganda proper, Unyoro and other territory to the west, and Usoga to the east, under the rule of a Commissioner. A trained force of Sudanese was established for the defence of the country. In the summer of 1897 trouble arose from a revolt in the province of Budu, headed by King M'wanga, the movement being of an anti-European character. An expedition of 300 Sudanese, with 2 machine guns, and a large body of native troops, started from the capital, Mengo, under the command of Major Ternan, the British acting-Commissioner, in the absence home of Sir Harry Johnston, and M'wanga and his adherents were routed after a fight involving heavy loss on both sides. M'wanga made his escape into German territory, and was there arrested. In the following October a more serious matter occurred in the mutiny of the Sudanese troops in the British service, in the Usoga country, on the northern shore of Lake

Victoria Nyanza. A number of Mohammedans, who had been expelled from Uganda, took part with the rebels, and severe fighting occurred between them and a small body of the Sikhs, headed by ten British officers and Mr Jackson, acting-Administrator during the absence of Major Ternan, 'invalided home.' The mutineers were at last routed with great loss, and order was restored by the arrival of a large body of loyal natives from Fort Kampala, but the British losses included Lieutenant Fielding, killed in action, and Major Thruston and two civilians murdered by the mutineers. Mr Jackson was severely wounded. In 1898 there was a renewal of fighting with mutineers, and Lieutenant Macdonald, brother of Major Macdonald, in command of the troops, and the Rev. Mr Pilkington, a missionary, were killed. The Sikhs in the British service showed great gallantry, and the mutineers and rebels were, by the latest accounts, being overcome.

We now turn to the history of Zanzibar. At an early date there was a commercial, and afterwards a political, connection between Arabia and East Africa. Vasco da Gama, on his return voyage from India, touched at Zanzibar, and found Mohammedans holding power in the chief towns along the coast, and carrying on a prosperous trade with the Malabar coast of India. In 1591 Captain Lancaster, who made the first English voyage to the East Indies, stayed for several months at Zanzibar. About 1820 Sey'id Said, Imam of Muscat (Oman), south-east of Arabia, having inherited possessions in eastern Africa, made the town his place of residence, and during his long reign the importance of Zanzibar was much increased. On his death in 1856, one of his sons, Sey'id Majid, became ruler of that and other African dominions, and the political connection with Muscat was ended by the transference of that territory to another son. The trade of the port in 1861 had an annual value of one and a half million sterling, due to Sey'id Said's enlightened rule,

For many years British influence was supreme. The Government of India maintained a Resident, and from 1866 to 1887 Sir John Kirk, the British Consul, actually had more power than the Sultans Sey'id Said and Sey'id Burghash, who succeeded to rule in 1870. British-Indian merchants had the coast trade in their hands from Cape Delgado to Mombasa, and it only remained for the Foreign Office, when the partition days came, to openly assert British supremacy. The Sultan Burghash was much irritated by the demand of Sir Bartle Frere, as Special Envoy to Zanzibar and Muscat in 1873, for the making of a treaty rendering the export of slaves illegal, and offered the protectorate of all his dominions to France. That issue was, however, averted by the promptitude, tact and resolution of Sir John Kirk, and the treaty was then signed by the Sultan. British influence grew, and in 1878 Sey'id Burghash offered the control of all the commerce of his dominions to Sir William Mackinnon, Chairman of the British-India Steam Navigation Company. The British Government of the day, however, did not favour the project, and the matter dropped. It was the appearance of Germany on the scene that brought matters to a head. Hamburg merchants had a strong hold at Zanzibar and along the neighbouring coasts, and in 1884 the Foreign Office in London found it desirable to obtain assurance from Prince Bismarck that 'Germany was not endeavouring to obtain a protectorate over Zanzibar.' In the same year, however, Dr Rohlfs, the explorer, was appointed German Consul-General, and a very pushing personage, Dr Karl Peters, proceeded thither as agent for the new 'Society for German Colonisation.' He made various treaties with native chiefs in the interior, obtaining their 'marks' or signatures to documents of whose contents they knew little or nothing, and thus 'German East Africa' was quietly annexed, with the assent of the British Government, and with the strong protest of the Zanzibar Sultan, who gave way in August

1885, when a German squadron appeared before his palace windows. An Anglo-German agreement in 1886 defined the limits of the Sultan's territory as including a strip of the mainland, 10 miles in width, for some distance along the coast, besides the islands of Zanzibar, Pemba, Mafia, Lamu and some others. In 1890 the territories of a new Sultan were restricted to Zanzibar and Pemba, with the other small islands, and the British 'Protectorate of Zanzibar' began to exist, the Sultan having a fixed income, and the public revenues being controlled by British officials under our Consul-General. The two chief islands have an area of nearly 1000 square miles, with a population of about 200,000, including a few hundred Europeans, and 7000 British-Indian subjects, chiefly traders. The town of Zanzibar contains about 30,000 people; the port is free for all goods except spirits, arms, powder and mineral oils, the trade in which is subject to regulations. The 'Prime Minister' is an Englishman, as also the commander, General Raikes, of the little army of 900 men, including police.

Before quitting East Africa we may note the British Protectorate on the coast of Somaliland, covering an area of about 68,000 square miles, established in 1884, under the administration of a Political Agent and Consul. The dominion of the territory was assumed for trade purposes, and as an appendage to Aden. The ports of Zeyla (Zaila), Bulhar and Berberah are fortified, with garrisons of Indian troops under British officers.

CHAPTER XI

THE AFRICAN REPUBLICS—THE ORANGE FREE STATE—THE SOUTH AFRICAN REPUBLIC—LIBERIA

THE Orange Free State had its rise in the great Boer 'trek' from Cape Colony in 1836 and subsequent years. In February 1848 Sir Harry Smith issued a proclamation, which declared the whole of the territory bounded on the south-west by the Orange River, on the north by the Vaal, and on the east by the Drakensberg Mountains, to be British territory as the 'Orange River Sovereignty.' The Boer leader, Pretorius, induced his followers to resist by force of arms, but they were severely defeated in August by the Governor at the battle of Boomplatz, south-west of Bloemfontein, and the Boers fled beyond the Vaal, their places being taken by British or by other settlers from Cape Colony well disposed to British sway. By degrees a desire for self-rule among both British and Dutch settlers weakened the authority of the Cape Government, and the Home Government resolved on abandoning the territory. In February 1854, the 'Orange Free State' arose, under arrangements made by a special commissioner despatched from England—Sir George Clerk, formerly Governor of Bombay. The measure was greatly opposed to public feeling in Cape Colony, and to that of many inhabitants of the territory, including some of the Dutch people, but the 'Convention of Bloemfontein' was signed in the face of all protests, and a fine territory, nearly as large

as England, was renounced within six years of its annexation. The country is governed by a President, legislative authority being vested in a popular Assembly, the Volksraad, elected for four years by suffrage of the adult white males or 'burghers.' The President, chosen for five years by universal suffrage, is aided by an Executive Council of five members. In its origin the country had to contend with great difficulties in the small numbers of its population, the neighbourhood of the powerful Basuto State, under Moshesh, and the lack of such appliances of civilisation as churches, schools, roads and bridges. In 1858, war with Moshesh, in which the Basuto ruler displayed his usual strategical skill, ended in the acceptance by the Free State, as we have seen, of terms obtained by the mediation of Sir George Grey, Governor of Cape Colony. A large slice of territory was thus surrendered in 1859 to the Basutos. The succeeding years were times of general progress from sheep-farming and cattle-rearing, and of peace disturbed only on the border by Basuto raids. Under the excellent President Jan Hendrik Brand, who was elected in 1865, the intervention of Sir Philip Wodehouse, Governor of Cape Colony, after the successful warfare of the 'burghers' against the Basutos in 1867 and 1868, restored the former boundary line assigned by Sir Harry Smith. Much loss of life and heavy expenses had been incurred, but energetic and persevering effort soon restored affairs to a prosperous condition. In 1871, the people of the Free State, still ruled by President Brand, felt aggrieved by the British annexation of Griqualand West, part of which, containing most of the diamond mines, lay within their boundary. The matter was settled, as we have seen, cheaply enough for the British Government, by a payment of £90,000, wisely applied by Brand to a reduction of the public debt. Since that time, the Orange Free State has enjoyed a career of unbroken peace

and progress in the development of public communications and instruction, the growth of population, and the possession of a sound financial system which has resulted in the virtual absence of public debt. President Brand's rule was so acceptable to his fellow-burghers that he was repeatedly re-elected, and died in office in 1888. On an area exceeding 48,000 square miles, there are about 80,000 whites and 130,000 natives. The land is chiefly devoted to grazing, and the wealth of the people lies mainly in flocks and herds, comprising about 7,000,000 sheep, 280,000 oxen, and 870,000 goats, with about 250,000 horses and 630,000 cattle used as beasts of burden. The mineral wealth of the territory includes rich coal mines, and diamonds exported to an annual value approaching half a million sterling.

The South African Republic, or Transvaal, dates its political existence from 1852. The Boer leader, Pretorius, after the battle of Boomplatz, was living, a proscribed man with a reward of £2000 offered for his arrest, to the north of the Vaal. The danger to British authority arising from simultaneous wars with the Basutos and the Kaffirs, and from a threatened alliance between the Boers and Moshesh, induced Sir Harry Smith to reverse the sentence of outlawry, and, in the famous 'Sand River Convention,' signed in January 1852, to recognise the independence of the Boers beyond the Vaal River. This arrangement was confirmed by Sir Harry's successor, Sir George Cathcart, by the British Secretary for the Colonies, and by the Boer Volksraad. The new State violated from the first the important clause in the convention that 'no slavery is or shall be permitted or practised in the country to the north of the Vaal River by the emigrant farmers.' The South African Republic started on its political career with a population of 15,000 or 16,000 'Boers' or farmers possessed of the best land in a country well adapted for most kinds of tillage and for pastoral life. Little capacity for

self-rule was shown. There were at first four executive heads—one for each of the leading factions—and for a time there were four separate republics, a system resulting in virtual anarchy which drew to the territory all the rascaldom of South Africa, and gave the Transvaal a bad name for cruel and oppressive treatment of the natives. The Boers themselves made war upon disaffected Bantu clans, and many atrocities were committed on each side. In 1860 the separate republics became united, and then the factions engaged in a small civil war for supreme authority in the one Transvaal State. In 1864 peace was restored under the presidency of Mr M. W. Pretorius, with Mr Paul Kruger as commandant or military chief in the Government. There was no properly-organised system of rule, and the most marked characteristic of the republic was Boer facility in making enemies. From 1865 to 1868 there was unsuccessful war with a mountain tribe in the north. The State treasury was destitute of funds, and peace with the natives had to be patched up on somewhat ignominious terms. The piety of the Boer community was strongly manifested in the building of churches, and the presence of large numbers of ministers of religion, whose flocks were ever at variance on trifles of doctrine or practice, but in social and political affairs the conspicuous matters were dense ignorance of books and of all affairs outside a narrow local circle, the lack of bridges over rivers, and the want of money in the treasury for the erection of public offices and the payment of the paltry salaries of officials. The material wealth of the country grew in flocks and herds, and in the produce of a fertile soil, and rude abundance reigned on the Boer farms. Under President Burgers, in 1876, war arose with a powerful chief named Sekukuni, and an attack made by a Boer 'commando,' led by the President in person, was repulsed with loss. The orthodox attributed the defeat to the leadership of the agnostic ruler, a man who had been

formerly a minister, and had afterwards shown great ability in conducting cases in the Cape Colony law courts. As chief official of the Transvaal he was a decided failure, and, in presence of a successful native chieftain, the State found itself penniless and without an army.

This condition of affairs caused a momentous change. The British Secretary for the Colonies, Lord Carnarvon, an enlightened man, eager for South African confederation, recognising the danger to general European interests in South Africa arising from the helpless condition of the Transvaal State, despatched a special commissioner to make inquiries. This British agent was Sir Theophilus Shepstone, a man of unequalled experience and knowledge of South Africa, then Secretary for Native Affairs in Natal. He was empowered, if he thought fit after due inquiry, to annex to the British dominions all or any part of the Transvaal territories, and to take over the government, 'provided he was satisfied that a sufficient number of the inhabitants desired to become British subjects.' In January 1877 he entered Pretoria amidst a scene of enthusiastic welcome from the townspeople. Due inquiry was made into the condition of affairs, and the wishes of the people concerning annexation. The British Commissioner was soon convinced that British rule could alone save the State from utter ruin. The English and German residents in the villages or little towns were eager to come under British sovereignty. President Burgers, summoning the Volksraad, presented them with the alternatives of a thorough reform of the system of rule, and British sway under a confederation. The members gave assent to a reform. The President, faced by public bankruptcy, the entire suspension of trade, factions among the Boers in prospect of a new presidential election, and Cetewayo's bands of warriors gathered on the frontier, really favoured annexation.

In accordance with his view, Sir Theophilus Shepstone,

in April 1877, proclaimed the Transvaal to be British territory, and assumed the government. Burgers made a formal protest, and closed his political career by retirement to Cape Town on a pension. The 'Executive Council' declared the annexation to be an 'act of violence,' and at once despatched the Vice-President, Paul Kruger, and the Attorney-General to London to plead for its reversal. All their efforts were vain. Lord Carnarvon remained firm; but there was one matter in which Sir Theophilus Shepstone, his instrument, and himself, were thoroughly deceived. No account had been taken of the feeling of the Boers in the country districts, the backbone of the country, the men who furnished soldiers for the 'commandos' in time of war, the hardy class whose skill in the use of the rifle was, along with incompetent leadership of British soldiers and a reversal of policy at Downing Street, to restore independence to the South African Republic. A second deputation to England, consisting of Paul Kruger and Pieter Joubert, was backed by memorials against annexation signed by over 6500 persons, practically the whole rural population, but a new Secretary for the Colonies, Sir Michael Hicks Beach, plainly refused the withdrawal of British sovereignty, while he promised a form of self-government for the Transvaal as 'an integral and separate state' in a South African confederation. There was an unfortunate delay in drawing up a new form of government for the territory, and in April 1879, when Sir Theophilus Shepstone had been succeeded as Administrator by Colonel (Sir Owen) Lanyon, no step in that direction had been taken. The High Commissioner, Sir Bartle Frere, had at that time an interview with the Boers near Pretoria, and bade them 'never believe that the English people would give up the Transvaal.' His successor, Sir Garnet Wolseley, declared that 'so long as the sun shone the Transvaal would remain British territory.' In October 1879, however, he was

reporting to the Colonial Office that 'the main body of the Dutch population are disaffected to our rule,' and at the end of the year, when a new Transvaal government had been constituted as that of a 'Crown Colony,' with a nominated Executive Council and Legislative Assembly, the Boers, gathered in mass meeting, declared that they would not be subjects of the Queen.

The Boers were specially encouraged in resistance to the British sovereignty by three events. These were, firstly, the British success over the Zulus, removing all need of British help against the lately formidable neighbour; secondly, the British defeat of Sekukuni, whose rough handling of the Boer levies had brought about the downfall of the republic; and thirdly, the accession of Mr Gladstone to power in great Britain. That statesman, during his 'Midlothian campaigns,' had denounced the annexation of the Transvaal in the strongest terms, and it was made clear that his views concerning the Boers of the Transvaal were backed by a large body of his British admirers. The Boer leaders had also, during their visit to England, learnt something of British party methods, and become aware that the victors at a general election were capable of reversing the policy of their predecessors. They fully expected that the Government of Mr Gladstone would at once make their country independent, and when it was found that the new Premier maintained the British sway they resolved to fight for their freedom. Paul Kruger, Pretorius and Joubert became the heads of a provisional government, and in December 1880 a proclamation of independence was issued. All the Boers were united in a cause which they firmly believed to be supported by Heaven, and they took the field in considerable force. The leading man in the governing triumvirate, Paul Kruger, called 'Oom (Uncle) Paul' by the admiring Boers, was one of the original emigrants from Cape Colony, a man dis-

tinguished in the Boer warfare with native tribes and a member of one of the strictest bodies of Dutch Protestants. Pieter Joubert, a younger man than Kruger, also a fighter in Kaffir wars, was a coarse-looking, self-educated man of the Covenanter type. Pretorius was an able administrator, who had been, as we have seen, President both of the Orange Free State and the Transvaal. One of the chief promoters and organisers of insurrection was Dr Jorrissen, a Dutch divine, learned and fierce in spirit and temper.

There is no need to dwell upon the events of the struggle known as the Boer War. Again and again the British troops, badly handled by Sir George Colley, Commander-in-Chief in succession to Sir Garnet Wolseley, unskilled in guerrilla warfare, unable to shoot with precision at scattered opponents, were overcome by Boers firing with accurate aim from cover, shooting down the officers, and in some sense demoralising the men. The authorities responsible for the training of British soldiers had not deemed it to be part of their duty to teach accurate shooting, and the faulty tactics of the British leader, killed in the fight at Majuba Hill in February 1881, accounted for the rest. In the following month Sir Evelyn Wood was in the field at the head of a force of 12,000 British troops, an army which, under the leadership of that general, a man who knew his business, could have annihilated the exulting Boer rebels. At this juncture, however, after four British defeats, the Cabinet—headed by Mr Gladstone—having refused concession prior to disasters in the field, gave way to victorious foes, on some principle which has never been explained, and the Transvaal became again an independent state. The lives of many hundreds of British soldiers had thus been flung away, not for the first time in our history, through the conduct of politicians who were unable to be wise in time. The credit of the British Army was, on the other hand,

redeemed by the gallant and stubborn defence of many isolated posts held by feeble garrisons. In no instance were the Boers, so successful in fighting from ambush and cover, able to overcome British soldiers when the conditions of contest were reversed. The records of Jellalabad and of the Residency of Lucknow were rivalled by those of the defenders of the camp outside Pretoria, and of the forts at Standerton and Leydenberg, Marabastadt, Rustenberg, Wakkerstrom, and many other posts.

In October 1881 a convention restored self-rule to the Transvaal in regard to all internal affairs, the control and management of external matters being reserved to the Queen as 'suzerain.' A British resident was appointed, with functions resembling those of a consul-general and *chargé d'affairs*. In February 1884 this arrangement was superseded by the Convention of London, under which the Transvaal State became known as the 'South African Republic,' and the British suzerainty was confined to the control of foreign relations. The British Government is represented at the capital, Pretoria, by a diplomatic agent. The terms of this convention strictly prohibited the introduction of slavery in any form; prescribed complete religious freedom, and secured for native races the right to buy land and to seek justice in the courts of law. The most satisfactory and creditable part of the arrangement, in the eyes of patriotic Britons, was the protection afforded to helpless natives against the unscrupulous aggression of the Boers.

A new era for the republic opened with the discovery, in 1885, of extensive goldfields very rich in metal. The town of Barberton arose in the centre of the eastern field, and soon became the busiest place in the country, but the discovery, some months later, of the great Witwatersrand mines, carried the people away to a newly-founded town, destined to become, as Johannesburg, by far the largest city in South Africa, with a population of about 110,0 co

nearly half of whom are whites. The increased production of the Witwatersrand fields, rising from about 35,000 ounces of gold in 1887 to nearly 730,000 ounces in 1891, and to about two and a half million ounces, with a value over eight and a half millions sterling, in 1895, caused an entire change of the social and political conditions of the State. The original Boer inhabitants became utterly swamped in numbers by the foreign European settlers drawn thither by the goldfields. These people, known as 'Uitlanders' or 'Outlanders' in Boer-English, became objects of jealous suspicion to the Boers, represented by the typical Boer, Kruger, a very shrewd and strong-willed personage, whose presidency has been repeatedly renewed by popular election. The Dutch population, the sole possessors of political power, were, in their sullen aversion to change, in their morbid and obstinate adherence to antiquated ways, the very Chinese of South Africa, neither to be led nor driven on the path of progress, incapable of prosperous self-rule, and resolved not to be taught by others. The discovery of gold brought into their midst a host of eager, energetic adventurers, whose labour was soon creating most of the country's wealth, and who paid by far the larger part of the taxation. These new foreign indwellers of the Republic had not the slightest share in its government. Devoid of any rights of citizenship, and having only the slightest prospect of acquiring such rights after many years of residence, they found themselves, politically, under the heel of a Boer oligarchy, the 'first-class burghers,' men who were, in their system of rule, grossly violating republican principles. The greatness of a new state was being built up by men of enterprise, experience, energy and skill in mining, commerce and other walks of life, who were jealously excluded from all share of power in the country which they had raised from poverty and obscurity to a condition of wealth, rapid progress and renown. There was inevitably the seething

of political discontent and unrest, and constant friction between the new and the old, the progressive and the stagnant elements of the population.

In another quarter of South Africa, in Cape Colony, the Premier, Mr Cecil Rhodes, was the embodiment of the aspirations of the party of progress, the men desiring federation, the promoters of all that Kruger and his Boer countrymen abhorred. The great director of the South Africa Chartered Company, a man of the type of the high-class Elizabethan adventurers, was certain to come into collision sooner or later with Paul Kruger. The countless admirers and friends of Mr Rhodes must admit that, in his patriotic zeal for the attainment of ends which he firmly believes to be conducive to the true interests of the British Empire, he is liable to be somewhat unscrupulous in the use of means. He may be fairly described as a combination of the shrewd financier with the statesman who, in promoting his great schemes, would rather strive, like a general of the headlong, dashing school, to carry a strong position by storm than to trust to the slower and safer methods of investing and starving out the foe. The political Skobeleff of South Africa was tempted in an evil hour to plan and carry out, through a devoted follower, the enterprise known as 'the Jameson Raid,' one conspicuous in modern times for lawless disregard of the claims of duty to the Imperial government and of international obligations. The controversy in the Transvaal concerning the Uitlanders had long been agitating the Dutch or Afrikander and the British population of all South Africa. At the very end of 1895, the telegraph wires astounded the world by news that the South African Republic had been invaded by a British force. Dr Jameson, the Civil Administrator, under the Chartered Company, of Mashonaland and Matabeleland, or Southern Rhodesia, had gathered a body of about 500 men of the Matabele Mounted Police and the Bechuana-

land Border forces, with Sir John Willoughby and other officers, at Pitsani, on the frontier of Bechuanaland and the Transvaal. The object of the invasion of the latter country was, as stated by Dr Jameson at a later date, to occupy Johannesburg and to maintain order while pressure was brought to bear on the Transvaal Government for the concession of political rights to the Uitlanders, and for the redress of various grievances of a commercial character. Before the Parliamentary Commons Committee of Inquiry, held in 1897, Mr Rhodes produced a written statement to the effect that much discontent existed in the Transvaal owing to 'the restrictions and impositions placed upon the gold industry by the Government; to the corrupt administration of the Government; and to the denial of civil rights to the Uitlander population'; that the Uitlanders, 'in despair of obtaining redress by constitutional means, were resolved to seek by extra-constitutional means such a change in the government of the South African Republic as should give to the majority of the population, possessing more than half the land and nine-tenths of the wealth, and paying nineteen-twentieths of the taxes in the country, a due share in its administration; that he sympathised with and, as one largely interested in the Transvaal, shared in these grievances; and further, as a citizen of the Cape Colony, he felt that the persistently unfriendly attitude of the Government of the South African Republic towards the Colony was the great obstacle to common action for practical purposes among the various states of South Africa; that, under these circumstances, he assisted the movement in Johannesburg with his purse and influence; that, acting within his rights, he placed, in the autumn of 1895, on territory under the administration of the British South Africa Company, on the borders of the Transvaal, a body of troops under Dr Jameson, prepared to act in the Transvaal in certain eventualities. With reference to the Jameson Raid, he could state that Dr

Jameson went in without his authority.' It becomes clear from this statement, which may be accepted as substantially correct, that the movement from without, or the proceedings which culminated in the Jameson Raid, was intended to support a movement within the Transvaal, and that the attempt failed, either because the Uitlanders at Johannesburg did not, through treachery or fear, carry out their part of the contract, or from Dr Jameson's precipitate action in crossing the frontier before the arrangements were complete. With this preliminary explanation, and passing over all the mysterious attendant circumstances, we may briefly state that early in the morning of December 30th 1895, the troops under Dr Jameson and Sir John Willoughby crossed the frontier and marched for Johannesburg, nearly 200 miles away. The Boer Government, aware of the invasion, was ready with a large force. The confederates of Mr Rhodes 'caved in' and hoisted the Transvaal flag, on December 31st, to save themselves. On the evening of that day the invaders encountered a Boer force, six times their own number, strongly posted among little valleys and low hills, at Krügersdorp, a few miles west of Johannesburg. The way to that town was blocked, and the British suffered some loss in an attack. An attempt to outflank the enemy was checked by a move of the Boers which again stopped the raiders at a place called Doornkop, where the Transvaal troops were securely placed behind ridges of rock commanding long open slopes in front on two sides of an angle. The invaders were soon almost surrounded, and, as the ammunition was failing, they were rendered helpless under the incessant, well-aimed fire of rifles, Maxims and other guns. It thus came to pass that on Thursday, January 2nd 1896, at eleven in the morning, they were compelled to surrender. The number of killed and wounded exceeded 100, with small loss to the Boers. The prisoners included Dr Jameson, Sir John Willoughby,

and about 20 other officers, some of whom were wounded.

The whole proceeding was, of course, plainly disavowed by the High Commissioner, Sir Hercules Robinson, and by the British Colonial Secretary, Mr Chamberlain. The prisoners were mercifully treated by the Boer Government in being soon released to be dealt with by the British authorities. Mr Rhodes promptly resigned his post as Premier of Cape Colony, and in June 1896, when an official inquiry held at Cape Town had proved his complicity in the scheme, he also gave up his directorship of the Chartered Company. In the following month Dr Jameson and the chief military officers engaged in the enterprise were brought to trial in London and sentenced to short terms of imprisonment, with loss of commissions, perpetual in two cases, to the officers in the Imperial army who had been concerned. The Commons Committee of Inquiry sensibly summed up the result, after recording 'an absolute and unqualified condemnation' of the 'raid,' and of the plans which made it possible, as 'a grave injury to British influence in South Africa,' in the shaking of public confidence, the embitterment of race feeling, and the creation of serious difficulties with neighbouring states. The members of the 'Reform Committee' in the Transvaal, over 60 in number, representing the inner movement in favour of political changes, comprising nearly all the leading men connected with the gold interest, and including several American citizens, were sentenced to heavy fines, imprisonment, and banishment, but this decision was afterwards greatly modified on condition of an undertaking not in future to interfere in the political affairs of the republic. The Chartered Company was at once deprived, by the British Government, of its exercise of police and military functions, and these were placed in charge of an Imperial officer, who organised the police force of Rhodesia on a localised

system, establishing about 30 forts at various points throughout the country, and garrisoning each with a body of men. The commercial and financial functions were left in the hands of the Company, and the civil rule of the territory was vested, as before, in an Administrator, assisted by a council with extended powers and numbers, under a system including the representation of the people. The inhabitants, as in Crown Colonies, are directly represented on the Legislative Council, with a majority of votes for the Company so long as it pays the expenses of government.

Great progress has been made in the Transvaal, since the discovery of gold, in the construction of public works—railways, telegraphs, bridges and roads—and a system of state-aided schools has been established. Iron and coal in great abundance have been discovered. In 1896 the imports paying duty had reached a value exceeding 14 millions sterling, with duties amounting to £1,355,000. The area of the South African Republic is about 119,000 square miles, with a white population exceeding 250,000, and natives estimated at 620,000. The adjacent Swaziland, with an area of about 8500 square miles, and a population estimated at 50,000, including 1000 whites, is now a 'protectorate' administered by the republic under a convention of 1894, whereby the territory is not to be incorporated into the Transvaal, and the natives have the right to govern themselves according to their own laws and customs, within the limits of humane and civilised treatment of all parties concerned, and to retain their lands and rights of grazing. The recent proceedings of President Kruger, elected for the fourth time in February 1898, present him in the character of the traditional American 'skipper' of a Mississippi steamboat, with a totally different object in view. The one 'sits on the safety valve' to give high pressure to the engines and thus increase the speed. The other seeks to retard the

growth of constitutional freedom. The result in either case must be the same—a disastrous explosion.

The little republic styled the 'United States of Liberia' or simply 'Liberia,' on the west coast, had its origin in a settlement of freed negroes formed in 1822 by the Washington Colonisation Society, at Cape Mesurado. The colony grew and prospered with the arrival of numerous emancipated slaves from the United States, and the purchase of fresh lands from native chiefs. The domain of the free negroes was gradually extended along the coast to the borders of Sierra Leone, and in 1847 the country was recognised by European powers as an independent state. Ten years later an increase came in the peaceful annexation, to the south-east, of the freed negro settlement of Maryland, founded as a colony in 1821, and as a 'republic' in 1854. High hopes were formed by 'abolitionists' and admirers of the negro concerning this experiment in the civilisation of the native negroes by those of their own race who, as slaves, had been brought into contact with the whites. Those hopes have been signally disappointed. The inhabitants of Liberia, living under a constitution modelled on that of the United States, in a territory about the size of Belgium, with a coast line 500 miles in extent, and a total population exceeding a million, nearly all being aboriginal negroes, are almost in a state of barbarism. The resources of the country have not been developed; the trade is insignificant; the interest due on both the internal and external public debts has been left unpaid for many years; the system of rule is a mere caricature of that existing in the great republic of the western world. Such is the result of negro self-rule on the European and American model, in a country where no white man is allowed to acquire citizen's rights or to hold property.

CHAPTER XII

THE FRENCH IN WEST AFRICA—THE BRITISH ON THE NIGER

FRENCH power and influence have hitherto been seen in this work only as predominant in northern Africa. We are now to view our chief rival in Africa in connection with the great rivers of the West Coast region north of the Congo—the Senegal and the Niger. The great republican state of Europe, and subjects of the greatest colonising empire of the world, are there engaged, with enlightened energy, in the work of developing the resources of the coastal region, and of a great area of 'hinterlands' and 'spheres of influence.' French traders appeared on the western coast about the middle of the sixteenth century, and before the end of the seventeenth subjects of Louis the Fourteenth, in the days of the great minister Colbert, were displaying much enterprise, perseverance and resolution in pushing up the Senegal on the way to Timbuktu. Stations were formed far up the river, and the French colony of Senegal began to exist alongside of the British settlements on the river Gambia. A steady advance was made by the French after a long period of inactivity or decline, with the appointment, as Governor, of Colonel Faidherbe, who afterwards played a distinguished part in the Franco-German war of 1870-71. This able and energetic man adopted a vigorous policy, subduing native chiefs who strove to check French progress inland, and

annexing their territories. On his retirement in 1865, the French occupation extended to the Upper Senegal, and French influence and authority, in a time of British apathy and neglect of the country's interests in West Africa, were dominant far along the coast and into the inner regions. Faidherbe's successors, following in his footsteps, made rapid advances, ever annexing fresh districts, and proclaiming 'protectorates,' with the Upper Niger as the ultimate aim. In 1842, France, ambitious of dominion further south, established her power on the fine estuary of the Gaboon river, just above the equator, and in 1862, annexing territory on the Ogowé (Ogové), founded the great dominion of 'French Congo,' which was extended and consolidated, under the auspices of De Brazza, between 1878 and 1885. By the Franco-German agreement of 1894, this territory, with an area of nearly 500,000 square miles, covered with forest, a native population estimated at five millions, and 27 stations or military and trading posts, runs northward behind the Cameroons as far as Lake Tchad, and to the watershed between the Congo and the Nile. Senegal colony proper includes the coast from the north of Cape Verd to Gambia in the south, and various stations up the river, with a district around each, the whole having, with certain settled portions of Rivières du Sud, an area of about 15,000 square miles. Several 'protected' native states have an area exceeding 100,000 square miles, and a population estimated at two millions. The colony of Senegal, with its capital at St Louis (20,000 people), is in charge of a governor-general, commanding about 2500 troops, including natives, and is represented at Paris by one deputy.

Among the most remarkable races of Africa are the Fulahs or Felláta, a Sudanese people extending from Senegal on the west to Darfur in the east, and from Timbuktu and Haussaland in the north to Joruba and Adamawa in the south. Our first knowledge of them is

derived from an Arabic writer of the fourteenth century. They are strong, well built, highly intelligent and trustworthy, and now devout followers of Islâm by conversion in the eighteenth century. Their features are of the normal Caucasian type, and this fact, in connection with their long hair, renders it difficult to assign their true place in ethnography. Numbering probably over seven millions, they had great power in their portion of the continent, and at the beginning of the nineteenth century, under an Imâm and Sheikh named Othman, a man of ability, energy and zeal, they engaged in a religious war on surrounding paganism, the struggle culminating in his foundation of the great Fulah empire of Sokoto. Industrious in tillage, cattle rearing and trade; skilled in manufactures of wood, leather and woven fabrics; having mosques and schools in every town and larger village, the Fulahs held the highest position among the Mohammedans of Africa west of Egypt and south of the Sahara. On the death of Othman in 1817, his empire, extending from near Lake Tchad on the east to the Atlantic coastal region on the west, was broken up into several independent states, the chief of which were Sokoto and Gando, ruled by his two sons. When French colonial ambition began to exercise itself in western Africa after the middle of the nineteenth century, its first task was the subjugation of some of these native states, either wholly Moslem or ruled by fanatical Mussulman chiefs or kings. Along with the Fulahs, dominant in the Futa Jallon country on the south of the Senegal, and spread all over the basin of the Niger, are large numbers of negroes under various tribal names. A powerful monarch named Samory ruled the territory on the Upper Niger, and east of the river were smaller Mohammedan and Pagan states, mostly having armies with some degree of organisation and discipline, and all resolved, on religious and other grounds, to oppose

French progress into the vast Niger territory. We have already referred to the work of Faidherbe and his successors in the governorship of Senegal. About 1880 a new outburst of French vigour brought a long series of military operations, attended by diplomatic negotiations, the whole ending in the establishment of French power and influence, by military occupation and through 'protectorates,' on the left bank of the Upper Niger and in the Futa Jallon country. The success won against Ahmadu, king of a large territory between the Upper Niger and the Upper Senegal, and against the formidable Samory, was due to the energy and skill of Colonels Frey, Gallieni and Desbordes. In 1888 a fort was built at Siguiri, at the junction of the Tankisso with the Niger, and connected by telegraph with St Louis, the capital of Senegal. In 1890 and the following year the French forces, under Colonel Archinard, captured native strongholds on the Upper Niger, lessening the power of Ahmadu, and drove Samory from his capital to the southern country. The influence of France was being continually spread by expeditions combining exploratory, political and military objects, and in December 1893 a column, led by Colonel Bonnier, realised the dream of ages by the occupation of Timbuktu. Much loss has been incurred by French troops in the neighbouring country from surprise attacks made by the fierce Tuaregs of the Sahara, but these hostile proceedings have been severely punished, and Timbuktu is firmly held. The Anglo-French agreement of August 1890 recognises French possession of, or a 'sphere of influence' over, most of the Western and Central Sahara, a region comprising about one and a half million square miles. French Sudan, divided into annexed territories and protectorates, administered by a 'superior military commandant,' residing at Kayes, in Senegal, under the Governor of Senegal, now includes the Upper Senegal region and the countries on the Upper and Middle Niger,

as arranged by the Anglo-French Paris Convention of June 1898, with a total area vaguely estimated at 350,000 square miles, and a population of about three millions.

It was in 1862 that France gained a foothold on the Guinea coast by assuming a protectorate over the trading post of Porto Novo and the adjacent territory. The region had been considered a part of the kingdom of Dahomey, a realm dating from early in the eighteenth century, which became powerful in the earlier years of the nineteenth, with a large army of warriors and a battalion of brave and athletic women, devoted to a celibate life, and ferocious in fight—the famous 'Amazons.' The fetish-worship of the Dahomeyans included the wholesale slaughter of foreign captives and others as sacrifices. Not fewer than 500 human victims thus perished at one of the grand 'customs' in October of each year. The power of the despotic sovereign had greatly declined at the time of French aggression, and his attack on Porto Novo in 1890 was easily repulsed. The monarch then began to provide his army with European cannon and breechloading rifles, in the hope that his men thus equipped would be able to meet their foes with success. In the summer of 1892 his forces invaded the Porto Novo district, burning some villages and carrying off captives for slavery or sacrifice. A French gunboat was fired on in one of the streams, and the settlements were soon threatened by bodies of negroes, mostly armed with modern rifles, and in some cases numbering several thousands. The receipt of a letter, written in the French language, and couched in terms of insolent defiance, by the Governor of the Benin Coast, from the king of Dahomey, was speedily followed by the arrival of reinforcements from Senegal and France, including some companies of excellent African troops—Senegalese *tirailleurs*, commanded by French officers. The force was under the command of the able Colonel (now General)

Dodds, of English extraction, born in Senegal, and proof against the West African climate. Trained at a French military college, he had seen much service in campaigns on the Upper Senegal and in the Western Sudan. The Dahomey capital, Abomey, lies about 70 miles direct from the coast, in a region of fertile, undulating plains, guarded from an invader's approach by swamps and a broad belt of forest land. The King was supposed to be ready to place in the field an army of about 12,000 male warriors and 1500 Amazons. To meet this force, Colonel Dodds had, of European troops, 150 marines and 800 of the 'Foreign Legion,' with 1500 Senegalese riflemen, 300 Haussas, engineers, mountain guns, a score or two of cavalry, and a transport and ambulance train, the whole numbering 113 officers and 3350 men. The commander had prudently made a careful study of Wolseley's successful Ashanti campaign, and all sanitary precautions against the deadly climate were taken, quinine being daily served out to the men, and the very small quantity of brandy allowed being always drunk in dilution with water or tea. On August 17th 1892, after the provision of coast garrisons, a column of 2000 men, with 2000 native carriers of stores, started from Porto Novo up the eastern bank of the river Oueme, with barges and gunboats in attendance. Much difficulty was encountered in the passage of streams with swampy banks, and in cutting down underwood and coarse grass, the latter being often six feet in height. On September 14th, at Dogba, a point on the river 35 miles above Porto Novo, lying due north, a strong stockaded post was erected by the invaders on a rising ground, defended by a gunboat armed with machine-guns. A fierce attack made by the enemy in force was severely repulsed, and the advance on Abomey was then resumed. Some fighting on the river took place between the gunboats and the Dahomeyan gunners and riflemen on the banks. The French commander, by an ingenious retreat

at the right moment, evaded a strong force which his scouts had found entrenched in his front, and, turning its flank, passed his men safely across to the western bank of the Oueme, at a point about 50 miles from the coast, and then struck out overland for Abomey, 35 miles away to the north-west. The way lay through tropical forest, and the difficulties of the march and the resistance made were such that six weeks were needed to reach the capital, at a rate of less than a mile per day. On October 4th a sharp two-hours' combat, at close quarters, amid the trees and long grass, ended in the retreat of the enemy. Among the slain left on the ground were 17 'Amazons,' tall, strongly-built young women, each with a breechloader and abundant ammunition. More fighting followed, and in six days only three miles of ground had been won. After a few days' delay in order to establish another fortified post, the advance was resumed, and on the march through a jungle of bush, long grass, and thickets of large trees, much fighting had to be done. On October 14th an attempt to turn another fortified position, defended by rifled guns served by trained men, ended in the forced retreat of a French column before masses of men and Amazons, including hundreds of good marksmen, professional hunters of big game. Water was lacking, and Colonel Dodds was hampered by the charge of 140 wounded and 60 patients ill of fever. A downpour of rain during the night rid the French force of the chief peril; an attack on their camp was sharply repulsed; and then for a week the two bodies of adversaries remained quiescent, face to face. During this delay, the French leader sent his sick and wounded down to the coast, accumulated stores, found a good supply of water near his position, and received a reinforcement of 400 men from Porto Novo. On October 27th the king of Dahomey sent in a letter with a flag of truce, offering to evacuate a position in front, and drew the French, on the follow-

ing day, into an ambuscade, where they met a severe artillery and rifle fire. Furious at this treachery, Colonel Dodds' men carried the position with the bayonet, after a desperate struggle, and the victors, recruited by the week's rest, drove off the Amazons and the Royal Guard. The main line of defence was thus broken through, and Abomey was now only 14 miles distant to the front. The French, advancing in square, had four days' almost continuous bush fighting near a place called Cana, the sacred city and favourite residence of the kings, and in front of this town a real entreaty for peace was made. The end of this interesting contest between barbarism and civilisation was dramatic. General Dodds, as he had now become, demanded the King's unconditional surrender, and, when delay occurred, he resolved to occupy the capital. On November 15th, as he and his men approached the city through a pleasant country where tilled fields, pastures and groves of palm had replaced the tropical forest, a column of smoke shot up from the midst of Abomey, fires broke out in various quarters and loud explosions shook the air. The king, Behanzin, had fled away northwards with a few hundred warriors, leaving behind him to the victors a Dahomeyan 'Moscow,' the scene for a century of human sacrifices on a vast scale. In a brief campaign at the end of the year and early in 1894 the deposed monarch was hunted down and captured, and the success of operations carefully planned, prudently and skilfully carried out, and displaying much courage both in the invaders and invaded, was complete. Since that time the French have virtually ruled Dahomey as a 'protectorate' under a new king chosen by the chiefs. 'French Guinea' consists of the territory on the coast from 11° to nearly 9° north latitude, and inland along and between the rivers as far as the Futa Jallon, detached from Senegal in 1890, and formed into a separate colony under the name of Rivières du Sud. The settlements on the

Gold Coast and the Benin settlements, containing Porto Novo, Kotonou, Grand-Popo and Agoué, are included in the same administration, with a total area of 25,000 square miles, and a few hundreds of European inhabitants. Dahomey has an area of about 14,000 square miles, with a population estimated at 150,000, the whole number of natives in the French colony (Guinea) and protectorate exceeding half a million. The chief ports of trade on the coast are Kotonou and Whydah, with a large export of the finest palm oil and of palm kernels.

In early years of the nineteenth century British traders were active on the Lower Niger, and, as we have seen, British explorers did much to open up the great river and the adjacent territory between 1815 and 1875. As foreign competition—French and German—arose in the river trade, some important British mercantile firms combined to form the 'United African Company' in 1879, and extended their operations through treaties made with native chiefs. The animating and dominating spirit of this enterprise was an ex-officer of the Royal Engineers, Mr Goldie Taubman—a man of keen foresight, resolution and admirable public spirit—now renowned as Sir George Taubman Goldie. Where his influence prevailed there was likely to be no lack of energetic progress. The past trade history of the Niger, the best navigable highway to the interior of Africa, had been to a large extent a record of difficulty, disaster and failure. The native chiefs on the lower part of the river, ruling people wholly barbarian and pagan, had put every obstacle in the way of legitimate trade, and a state of anarchy, due to ages of inter-tribal wars and to incessant slave raids, caused frequent outrages on Europeans and hindered the development of commerce. The Niger news in British journals included, from time to time, the account of how a British gunboat, ascending the river when the tropical flood-rains gave access, had knocked to pieces some native village of mud-houses, and then,

after inflicting a punishment not in the least regarded by the survivors of the attack, had returned to the coast with half its crew suffering from fever. Goldie saw the utter uselessness of treating symptoms, and aimed at the extirpation of the chronic malady by the welding of the many disorderly tribes into a homogeneous state administered through himself and his colleagues in the Company. The capital was increased from £125,000 to a million sterling. The public were admitted as shareholders, the title was changed to that of 'National African Company,' and the directors won the favour of the more enlightened and patriotic part of those who watched British affairs in West Africa by boldly announcing their resolve to establish relations, if it were possible, with Sokoto, Gando and other important states in the basin of Lake Tchad. From that time, in 1882, the success of the Company was assured. New stations were founded on the river. A little fleet of launches and steamers was sent out, and the operations of the Company went ever further up the Niger and its chief affluent, the Benué. Two French companies which had begun to work on the Lower Niger, planting many 'factories' or trade posts, and threatening a formidable rivalry to British enterprise, were promptly dealt with by Goldie's vigilance and determination. He applied much of the new capital to the increase of his Company's staff and stations. He bribed the chiefs not to make treaties with the French. He raised the price of native products by competition, until the Frenchmen could no longer purchase with any hope of a profit in the European market. When the commercial foemen were thus seriously shaken, the British trade leader gave the *coup-de-grâce* in a friendly way by fairly buying the French shareholders out of the Lower Niger with cash down or with shares in his own Company, enabling the British representative at the Berlin Conference a few days later to announce that his country alone had any commercial dealings on that part

of the West African river. Energy and perseverance had their reward when, in 1886, the Company received a charter from the Crown, and became the 'Royal Niger Company,' with Lord Aberdare as its Governor, and Sir George Taubman Goldie as Vice-Governor. Thus did the whole navigable part of the Niger and of its great tributary the Benué come under British control.

Never did a commercial company more fully justify its existence by steady progress, wise administration, and by creditable work apart from trade, than the Royal Niger Company. Against every obstacle it has won its way, developing trade, making new treaties with native states, including Gando and Sokoto, and advancing until it now administers a territory with an area of about 500,000 square miles, and a population variously estimated at from twenty to thirty-five millions. The Company, by treaty with the Sultan of Sokoto, exercises sovereign power over a large part of his dominions, and has civil, criminal and fiscal jurisdiction over non-natives throughout the remainder of his territory. The Sokoto and Gando kingdoms have an area of about 220,000 square miles, with a population of fifteen millions. Early in 1897 the Company was at war with the Sultan of Nupé, one of the most powerful Fulah chieftains. His offence consisted in cruel slave raids on territory within the Company's protectorate, and it was needful to administer wholesome chastisement. The campaign was planned with admirable foresight by Sir George Goldie, who took a leading share in the operations, aided by Imperial officers. An advance was made from Lokoja, at the junction of the Niger and Benué, as a base, towards Bida, the enemy's chief stronghold, about 70 miles to the north, on the east side of the Niger. The troops employed were the Haussa lévies in the Company's service, with white officers in the proportion of one to every twenty men. On January 6th the land force, composed of over 500 soldiers and 1000 carriers of stores, set off through the bush, and the mere terror of

their coming caused a great body of the enemy to abandon their camp at Kabba, which was promptly destroyed. A little fleet of gunboats and launches on the river was at the same time engaged in the seizure of canoes and the blocking of the fords, thereby cutting off all means of retreat from Bida to the west. The people of the country, welcoming deliverers from the Sultan's tyranny, cut up the fugitives from the Kabba camp, and before the end of January the taking of Ladi, which was destroyed by fire, along with great stores of food and ammunition, made an end of Fulah power to the west of the Lower Niger.

The advance on Bida was then undertaken by a column of 600 Haussas, under Major Arnold, with six Maxims, five 7-pounder guns, and some 9 and 12-pounder Whitworths. On January 25th the enemy's advanced position, 12 miles from the capital, was taken, and on the two following days a great struggle occurred against a force of horse and foot, numbering in all 30,000 men. Great skill was displayed by the British officers, and in the fighting, which lasted from sunrise until dark, the Haussa troops showed rare courage and steadiness. The immense superiority of the enemy's force enabled them to envelop the square, with Maxims at the corners, but every charge was repulsed with terrific loss. Sir George Goldie writes with enthusiasm of the splendid qualities of the Haussa as a soldier when he is well officered. He describes these fine Africans as 'always good-tempered and cheerful' on a march made more arduous by serious scarcity of water, and at times by rations running short. In heavy marching order they would pick up and carry the 70-lb. load of porters who fell exhausted by the way. In camp their conduct was always good, and plundering and personal ill-usage of the natives were unknown. As to their fighting qualities, it is enough to say that, little over 500 strong, the Haussas, former slaves of the Fulahs,

withstood for two days a great host of their former masters. As Mohammedans, they fought faithfully for those who fed them against devotees of Islâm; and though they had never faced cavalry in the field, they stood firmly against furious charges on the face of the square, delivering steady volleys like veteran European troops. On the second day of the main action, January 27th, the British force advanced in two half-squares, protected by the guns, against the Fulahs covering the slopes in front of Bida, and presenting a brilliant spectacle in their picturesque Oriental dress. The enemy closed in upon the square formed by the junction of the two halves, and the charges of about 20,000 horse and foot were always steadily repulsed. The Fulahs retired slowly before a fresh advance, and were finally driven off by a bombardment from the Whitworth and other guns, delivered from a position commanding the town of Bida, a place about 3½ miles square, with a population of 80,000. The Sultan of Nupé's brother, and many other emirs, had been severely wounded in fighting, and the strength of the enemy was utterly broken by the enormous losses sustained and the moral effect of utter defeat inflicted by native troops. A great store of munitions of war was secured in the city, a place hitherto almost unknown to Europeans, with schools, art industries, charities and other civilised institutions. The houses of the chiefs were destroyed, the mosques being, of course, carefully preserved. Sir George Goldie visited a large number of natives, chiefly Haussas in race, at a great camp near the city, and received a warm welcome when he assured them of deliverance from Fulah tyranny, and from slave raiders, and of absolute safety in future for every man, woman and child who might pass through any portion of the late Sultan's dominions. The decree abolishing slave-raiding and slavery throughout the Niger Company's territories

came into force on 'Diamond' Jubilee Day. A new Emir or Sultan, dependent on the Company, was set up, and the success at Bida was promptly followed by an expedition against Ilorin, the capital of the Yoruba State, west of the Niger, whose rulers were in the Fulah interest. This great town was captured with no loss to the assailants, and thus ended one of the finest campaigns ever conducted in West Africa, a triumph of civilised power due to prudence, tactical skill, the courage of native levies under British leadership, good discipline and modern weapons. The success won was the most important ever gained by Europeans in that region of the continent, as involving the conquest, for the first time, of a great Mohammedan kingdom in the Sudan, and the opening up of a fine, fertile territory, hitherto cursed by the action of slave raiders, to the peaceful work of tillage and trade. The Niger Territories, administered as they are by the Company, ought to have a great future. In 1896 the exports of hides, gums, ivory, india-rubber, palm oil and palm kernels, with many minor products, had a value exceeding half a million sterling. The town of Asaba, 70 miles beyond Abo, at the head of the Niger delta, is the capital, with the usual public buildings of a civilised place, and a botanical garden established under the enterprising policy which has already started plantations of cocoa and coffee. The Company's heavy duties have much lessened the import of alcoholic liquors, and of the gunpowder chiefly turned to base uses, in the interior, for slave raids. The importation of spirits into most of the Company's territory is absolutely prohibited. There are 40 or 50 steamers, including gunboats, which run between the coast port Akassa, where the Company have engineering works and repairing yards, and the Boussa Rapids on the Middle Niger on the one hand, and Ribago, 450 miles up the Benué,

on the other. Lokoja is the headquarters of the military force, consisting of about 1000 Haussas.

It is a century or more since British traders were settled in the west coast region called the 'Oil Rivers,' a name derived from the staple product, in palm and other oils, of the deltaic territory where the Niger's outlets mingle with many seaboard streams. Among the chief of these rivers, formerly a centre of the slave trade to America, are the Benin, the Brass, the Opobo, Quaebo and New and Old Calabar. In the earlier years of the nineteenth century there arose a more legitimate traffic in the vegetable products of the coast and the interior, and British missionaries have long waged war with pagan cruelty and superstition in the Calabar districts. The Oil Rivers territory was secured for Great Britain by treaties with native chiefs at the same time as that of the Niger Company. In 1884 a British protectorate was established over the district between Lagos colony and Yoruba on the north-west and the German boundary of Cameroons on the east, except on the coast-line between the Forcados and Brass Rivers, which belongs to the Niger territories. In 1891 the protectorate became 'Imperial,' under a Commissioner and Consul-General, possessed of administrative, judicial and fiscal powers, subject to the Foreign Office, and having as his subordinate colleagues six vice-consuls, stationed one on each of the rivers above named. The trade is almost wholly in the hands of British merchants, most of whom belong to the 'African Association,' with a nominal capital of two millions sterling, formed in 1889. In 1895-96 (twelve months) the imports exceeded three-quarters of a million in value; the exports in palm oil, palm kernels, ivory, india-rubber, ebony, camwood, gums, hides, etc., exceeded £840,000. The area and population have not been precisely estimated. The chief town, Old Calabar, contains about 15,000 people, with schools and churches founded by two Protestant missions, and is the

seat of government. Opobo, Bonny, Brass and Warri are among the leading trade stations. The military force of the 'Niger Coast Protectorate,' according to its official title, consisting of 450 men and 16 officers, with 4 small guns for bush service, and some Maxims, was chiefly due, in its organisation, to the efforts of Captain Boisragon, of the Protectorate Constabulary, a man of distinguished service in the Nile Expedition of 1884-85.

The only serious event in the history of the protectorate occurred in 1897. The country called Benin, lying between Dahomey and the Lower Niger, was then ruled by a despot, with his capital at Ubini (Benin city), 25 miles inland, lying east of Gwato. The place was the seat of a strong theocracy of fetish priests, whose worship included extensive human sacrifices of the most revolting kind, carried out in crucifixion or decapitation. On January 2nd a mission started from Sapele for an interview with the king, to treat with him, in the first place, on the subject of obstacles to interior trade. The body of people despatched, in the face of the king's threat to slay any white men who attempted to visit him, and of a special message requiring postponement for some weeks, and the attendance, at the end of that period, of only Mr Phillips, the Acting Consul-General, and a single native chief, was unwisely made too large for a peaceful purpose and too small for defence in case of need. There were seven leading British officials (including Mr Phillips), two interpreters, two British merchants, some servants, and over two hundred native carriers. On January 3rd, after being well received by the people at Gwato, the expedition started for Benin, moving forward in single file along the bush path. About 4 p.m. the party came to a small gorge, the Europeans, headed by Mr Phillips with his guide and interpreter, walking in front. In the thick bush the party were attacked and almost destroyed by musketry and the sword, Captain Boisragon and District

Commissioner Locke, the sole European survivors, creeping wounded into the bush amidst the confusion, and subsisting there on bananas and dew for five days, until they were rescued by friendly natives on the Benin River. All the slain Europeans were beheaded, and the finger-rings of Mr Phillips were sent back by the king of Benin, as if to express exultation over the massacre and defiance of British authority. Of the native carriers a few only made their escape to the coast.

When the news of this atrocious outrage reached the Foreign Office, the Imperial Government, resolved on inflicting prompt and signal punishment, sent orders to Admiral Rawson, commanding the Cape and West African squadron, to organise and lead a retributive expedition. More than 1000 men were engaged, including a naval brigade of 700 men, 120 marines from England, and 250 men of the Protectorate force, the little army being well provided with 7-pounders, Maxims, and the rocket-tubes whose missiles are so justly dreaded by the natives. On February 11th, after conveyance by boats to a place called Ologbo, that little town and Gwato were taken, and at Sapoba a strong force of well-armed natives was driven back, after an obstinate fight, in which Commander Pritchard, of H.M.S. *Alecto*, was killed. The terrific heat, nearly 100° in the shade, caused some deaths in the advance through thick bush from Ologbo to Benin, a distance of 16 miles. A fierce resistance was made by the enemy, but the way was slowly cleared, and on February 18th a column was formed for a dash on the city. Every yard of the way was contested by foes firing fast from cover. Five miles ahead a strong stockade, mounted with cannon, was breached by guncotton, and then 'rushed' with the bayonet. A mile further on, in a clear space, the 7-pounders and the tubes sent their shells and rockets screaming and whizzing towards the city. After a brief halt, during which the rear-guard closed up, the whole

force plunged again into thick bush, expecting desperate work on their way, but in a few minutes the men came out from the narrow path into a broad avenue leading to the city, flanked on each side by dense masses of undergrowth. This was the critical time of the contest. The enemy, mostly armed with breech-loaders, poured in a heavy fire from the thick upper foliage of the trees. Cannon ahead sent heavy shot, and rifle-balls flew thick from loop-holed houses, and from the shelter of tree-trunks. The assailants—British sailors and marines, and the brave Haussas of the Protectorate army—ended their work with a grand charge at the 'double,' loudly cheering, which brought them, at the end of the avenue, into the royal 'compound,' or palace garden. Thus was Benin city won from savagery to civilisation, with the loss of over 40 men killed and wounded in the final attack. Dr Fyfe, of the *St George*, was shot dead as he tended a severely wounded officer. The whole place was found to be reeking with the blood and bodies of human sacrifices. The houses of the fetish-priests and the crucifixion-trees were destroyed, and one of the foulest dens of slaughter in one of the worst regions in Africa was for ever closed. The king escaped for the time beyond reach of pursuit, but in August he came in from the bush and surrendered. His life was spared, on the plea that he had given no orders for the massacre, but that it was due to the fetish priests. He was, however, taken down to the coast as a prisoner, and carried round the towns in fetters for exhibition to the natives who had refused belief in his conquest and capture. A great moral effect was produced on the native mind by this instance of just and signal punishment. Benin was left in charge of a strong Haussa garrison provided with Maxims, 7-pounders, and a rocket-tube, and the former scene of hideous cruelty is now a civilised centre, enjoying perfect peace and order, with a fortnightly post to and from England, and golf links for recreation in the 'cool'

season. The nature of the climate in this part of Africa was again illustrated, as after the Ashanti expedition, by the occurrence of malarial fever, of which there were more than 700 cases on board vessels of the West African squadron, all contracted in the bush between the coast and Benin.

CHAPTER XIII

GERMANY, BELGIUM, SPAIN, PORTUGAL AND ITALY IN AFRICA

WE are not able here to enter into dreary diplomatic details concerning the partition of, or scramble for, Africa, apart from British and French possessions. The story of how Lord Granville was outwitted, outflanked, overreached and overcrowed by Prince von Bismarck; how Germany was successful here, and foiled there, in her efforts for colonial dominion in Africa; how Portugal, in her absurd claims for the possession of territory which she had never formally annexed or effectively occupied, was, according to her own account, browbeaten and bullied by Lord Salisbury; all this, and more, is excellently given in a work already referred to in these pages, *The Partition of Africa*. We shall now briefly state the territories of which Germany, Belgium, Spain, Portugal and Italy find themselves possessed after the division of the continent effected during the last two decades of the nineteenth century. It was in 1884 that Germany began to extend her empire beyond the bounds of Europe. In Africa, at the close of the nineteenth century, she cannot be said to have any colonies in the proper sense, but only some large areas of protectorate or spheres of influence containing a few 'factories' or trading posts, or some plantations of various kinds of produce.

In Upper Guinea, between the Gold Coast Colony on

the west and Dahomey on the east, lies Togoland, with a coast-line about 32 miles in length, an estimated area of 23,000 square miles, and a population supposed to be about two and a half millions, including a few score of Germans. Lome, the chief port, is the seat of government for an Imperial commissioner with a secretary, inspector of customs, and a local council of representatives of the merchants. Little Popo and Porto Seguro are other places on the coast. Togo, on a lake of the same name, is said to contain 8000 people. Order is maintained by 150 armed negro police, and the elements of civilisation are inculcated at the schools, largely attended by native children, of four missionary societies. The trade consists in the export of the usual products of that part of Africa, and the import of European goods, and is chiefly conducted by barter. Palms and coffee have been largely planted.

The Cameroons region, with a coast-line of about 200 miles on the Bight of Biafra, an estimated area of 190,000 square miles, and a population supposed to be three and a half millions, including some 250 whites, mostly Germans, became a German protectorate in 1884, the year of the occupation of Togoland. Cacao, coffee and tobacco have been planted on the fertile volcanic soil of the coast-region, and there is an active trade in palm oil, palm kernels and ivory. There is a large annual deficit of revenue against expenditure, the balance being adjusted by an Imperial contribution. The capital is Cameroons, and there are several important trading stations, as Victoria, Campo, Kribi and Buea.

German South-West Africa is a great region with a coast-line extending continuously for over 920 miles exclusive of Walfisch Bay, a British possession. The 'protectorate,' nominally governed by an Imperial commissioner, has an area estimated at over 320,000 square miles, and a population whose number is guessed at as 200,000, belonging to the Hottentot, Bushman, Bantu,

and Damara races. The white people number about 2700, including 1230 male Germans and a few hundred British and Boer males. The whole of the southern and much of the eastern part of the territory is barren and desert. The chief harbour is Angra Pequeña or Lüderitz Bay. The seat of government is at Great Windhoek, about 180 miles inland from Walfisch Bay. The chief industry is pastoral, and in Damaraland the natives have great herds of horned cattle, with some sheep introduced from Cape Colony, and native goats. The budget presents a large annual deficit.

In East Africa, the German Empire has a sphere of influence with a coast-line of over 600 miles, an estimated area of 380,000 square miles, and a native population supposed to be four millions, mostly tribes of mixed Bantu race, with much Asiatic blood, on the coast. There are about 1000 Europeans, chiefly Germans. The coast territory, with its harbours and customs, was purchased in 1890 from the Sultan of Zanzibar for four million marks, equivalent to £200,000. This region has forests of mangrove, tamarind, the magnificent baobab or monkey-bread tree, and cocoa-palms, and there are German plantations of cocoa-palms, coffee, tobacco, vanilla, caoutchouc, and cacao. On the higher ground there are sycamores, banians, acacias, cotton-trees and other forest growths, and the natives have large banana gardens. Ivory and india-rubber are the chief exports from Bagamoyo, Dar-es-Salaam, Kilwa, Tanga, and other places on the coast.

The Congo Independent State had its origin, as we have seen, in the discoveries of Mr Stanley and the aspirations of Leopold II., King of the Belgians. A 'Congo Committee' was formed in Brussels, and in 1880, under its auspices, Leopoldville was founded on Stanley Pool, a proceeding followed by the conclusion of treaties with native chiefs, and the establishment, by Mr Stanley, as the first organiser and administrator of the vast territory, of a

series of stations along the river as far as Stanley Falls. In this work he was succeeded by Sir Francis de Winton, and the 'Congo Committee' gave way in 1882 to the 'Congo International Association.' In 1885 the 'General Act' of the International Conference of Berlin constituted the State, as already recorded, on the basis of its neutrality and freedom of trade for all nations within the whole region watered by the Congo and its tributaries. In April 1884 Sir Francis de Winton went out as Governor, and the flag of the Association—blue, with a golden star—was recognised by the United States, Germany, and other countries, 'as that of a friendly government.' The Belgian legislature then conferred the sovereignty of the new State on King Leopold individually, and on August 1st 1885 the Belgian king informed the Powers that the possessions of the International Congo Association were henceforth to form the Congo Free State, under his rule, and that the State would be strictly neutral. The boundaries of the territory were gradually defined in agreements made with other European nations possessing or claiming adjacent territory, and, under the King of the Belgians, the international character of the State disappeared, and the great enterprise became almost wholly Belgian. In 1890 an International Conference at Brussels authorised the levying of some import duties to meet the expenses of administration, which were beyond the limits of the Belgian sovereign's very large private resources. We may note that, in 1889, the King had bequeathed all his sovereign rights in the State to Belgium and that in July 1890 the territories were declared inalienable, and by a Convention between the State and Belgium, the European country received the right of annexing the African after the lapse of ten years. The area is estimated at 900,000 square miles, with a population, chiefly Bantu in origin, of thirty millions, and about 1500 Europeans, of whom three-fifths are Belgians.

It cannot be said that the Congo Independent State has been hitherto a complete and conspicuous success. Great difficulties have had to be encountered, and some excuse must be made. The Arab barbarians of the territory are firmly set against attempts to interfere with slave-raiding, and in 1892-93, after Belgian expeditions had dealt out summary punishment to 'slavers,' the Arabs on the upper Congo and Lake Tanganyika arranged a general rising, which at first brought defeat to the forces of the Free State and the Belgian Anti-Slavery Society. By 1894 the enemy had been thoroughly subdued, and the tide of Arabism in southern Equatorial Africa began to ebb when the Belgian troops captured Nyangwé and Kasongo on the headwaters of the Congo. It is believed that, in the course of this warfare, about 70,000 Arabs and their followers perished, the success obtained being mainly due to Baron Dhanis, and to his able assistant, Mr Hinde, an English surgeon, who received as his reward a captain's commission in the Belgian army. Much good work in exploration has been done. Most of the great river has been mapped with a fair degree of accuracy, and all the great tributaries to the north and south have been explored, and more than 7000 miles of waterway opened up to navigation. The dark-skinned Arabs of the Upper Congo are of mixed race, being descended from Arabs who settled in south-eastern Africa in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and intermarried with the native blacks. The Arab element remained the dominant one, and the present dark-hued Arabs are keen traders, who became slave raiders because, in the interests of their commerce in ivory and other products, they found the human beast of burden cheaper than any other. It is one of the chief tasks set before the Belgian administration on the Congo to put an end to the slave system.

There have been statements, which appear to be well grounded, made by missionaries and other persons con-

cerning the cruel treatment of natives by Belgian officials, officers and troops, in connection with the trade in india-rubber. That substance forms a valuable article of commerce, and a system of forced labour has been adopted in order to increase the supply. The system is described as one of 'wholesale robbery, extortion, slavery and murder' —native armed sentinels, chosen from the wildest tribes, being ordered by the Congo Government officials to shoot any man found loitering about in the towns at the time when the people should be 'working rubber.' Scores of villages have been burnt down or abandoned 'through the rubber trouble,' and the practice of cutting off the right hand of natives who failed to work and of smoking these trophies for presentation to the Belgian 'Commissaire' in proof of zeal or as a claim for reward, has largely existed. These statements rest on the evidence of an eye-witness of high character, and some confirmation is found in the fact of a commission of inquiry being appointed by the Belgian authorities, as soon as it was known that information concerning the cruel treatment of natives was, through the British Consul, 'all over Europe.' Later information, from a Belgian source, received in Europe in April 1897, reports strict inquiry into alleged cases of cruel treatment of natives by whites, and the awarding of severe penalties on proof. In February 1895 Major Lothaire, of the Congo State administration, was guilty of the judicial murder, by hanging, of Mr Stokes, a British trader. The British case, as represented by Lord Salisbury to the Belgian Government at Brussels, was unanswerable and, by consequence, unanswered. Mr Stokes was hurried to his death for offences which, even if they were proved, were not, by the Congo State laws, punishable by death. The 'trial' was conducted in the most irregular fashion. Major Lothaire's word alone goes to show that the victim was even informed of the more serious charge against him —that of inciting to civil war. The value of Major

Lothaire's word is shown by the fact that, while he distinctly stated that certain articles of the code applicable to the case were read in court, one of his own witnesses proved that he had no copy of the code to read from. The 'trial' was, in short, a brutal and tragical farce. In November 1895 the Belgian Government recognised its responsibility by paying over the sum of 150,000 francs to the British Minister at Brussels as indemnity to the relatives dependent on the man so shamefully done to death. The victim had been buried more than two years before Major Lothaire, recalled from Africa, was put on his trial at Brussels. Insult was then added to the grievous wrong inflicted on a British subject. The Public Prosecutor whose duty it was to press the charge paid fulsome compliments to the accused man, and openly demanded his acquittal. Major Lothaire then returned to Africa to make his fortune. The murdered man sleeps soundly in his grave, and the 'Independent Congo State,' in the words of a high-class British journal, 'will continue to smile, and smile, and be what it is, until it perishes of its own weakness and corruption.' We need only further state that in 1897 there was a serious revolt of native troops under the command of Baron Dhanis, with much loss of life on both sides, and the slaughter of many white officers; that railway extension is slowly proceeding; that the revenue aided by annual grants of three million francs —one million from the king, two millions from the Belgian Government—is always below the expenditure; that the exports in 1896, chiefly in rubber, ivory and palm oil, reached the value of nearly half a million sterling, with imports of greater value; and that the armed force consists of about 6000 native Africans, divided into 16 companies, commanded by about 140 European officers and 145 sergeants.

Spain's possessions in Africa are of limited extent and more limited value. We have seen that she holds some

places on the coast of Morocco. The 'partition' leaves her with a block of about 240,000 square miles of sand, known as Rio de Oro and Adrar, on the coast of the Western Sahara The history of Portuguese dominion in Africa has little of interest or importance. Da Gama, on his Indian voyage, called at Sofala, Mozambique, Melinde, and other places on the east coast, finding them in possession of the Arabs, and in a prosperous condition. In 1505 the Portuguese took possession of Sofala, the coast territory extending from the Zambesi to Delagoa Bay. In 1507 the fort of Mozambique was founded, and some years later the Portuguese were at Quiloa, Melinde, and other points. By the year 1520 the whole of the east coast from Lourenço Marques to Cape Guardafui was under Portuguese dominion or influence, and some feeble attempts were made to obtain power in the interior. The colonisation of Mozambique and adjacent territories was a failure from the first. The Jesuits could not convert the natives; the civilians and soldiers could not govern or conquer them. There were frequent wars, with varied success, against native chiefs, in the seventeenth century, the Kaffirs making attacks on the south, and the Arabs on the north. There was little development of trade or industries, and the expectation of obtaining wealth from gold and silver mines was baffled. The corrupt rule of luxurious governors completes the picture of incompetence for the development of colonial possessions, and early in the eighteenth century the Portuguese, swept by the Sultan of Oman, in Arabia, from their possessions, had lost all dominion between Cape Guardafui and Cape Delgado. They held but one port on the coast, and the chief traffic was the export of slaves. When the 'scramble' of European Powers set in, Portuguese jealousy was aroused, and the Government began to urge, as we have seen, vain claims based upon discovery in early times and supposed 'possession.' On the western coast

Portugal had for centuries been established, in a feeble way, in Angola, where the town of St Paul de Loanda was built in 1578. Her territory there was finally restricted, on the formation of the Congo State, to the land extending southwards, with a range of about 600 miles inland eastwards, from the mouth of the Congo to Cape Frio. In this area of about 484,000 square miles, with a population estimated at over four millions, and the capital at St Paul de Loanda, the other chief ports being Benguela, Mossamedes, and Ambriz, there is a considerable trade in rubber, vegetable oils, wax, cocoa-nuts, ivory and coffee. Portuguese Guinea, with an area of 4450 square miles, and a population over 800,000, has limits fixed by a convention with France of 1886, being entirely surrounded, on the land side, by her possessions. In the east centre of the continent, Portugal claimed Mashonaland, but this assumption was set aside by the British Government, and in 1889 her attempts, with an armed force, to obtain territory to the north and south of the Zambesi, were frustrated by British action, to the intense indignation of people at Lisbon. In the end 'Portuguese East Africa,' with an area of about 300,000 square miles, and a population estimated at over three millions, was confined to the three districts of Mozambique, Zambezia, and Lourenço Marques, with some other smaller territories. Two companies — the Mozambique and the Nyassa — with royal charters, administer respectively the Manica and Sofala region, and the territory lying between the Rovuma, Lake Nyassa, and the Lurio. The chief ports are Mozambique, Quilimane, Chinde, Beira, and Lourenço Marques, the last having about 1700 Europeans, including 700 Portuguese, and 6000 native inhabitants. A large trade is carried on with the United Kingdom in our exports of cotton goods and other articles, having a value of nearly a million sterling in 1896. The exports, of far smaller value, are chiefly in sugar.

Much matter has been already given concerning Italian presence and proceedings in Africa. The present dominion of Italy in the continent extends, on the Red Sea littoral, from Cape Kasar, in 18° north latitude, to about 12° 30′ north, on the strait of Bab-el-Mandeb, with an area of about 88,000 square miles, and a population under half a million, chiefly nomadic. The region is styled the Colony of Eritrea, administered by the chief resident Italians at the capital, Massowah, under a governor nominated by the King, and subject to the control of the Minister for Foreign Affairs. There is a local trade in pastoral produce, and some pearl-fishing is carried on off Massowah and at other points on the long line of coast. The Italian dominion in Somaliland has an area of 100,000 square miles, with about 400,000 people.

CHAPTER XIV

NATIVE STATES: MADAGASCAR, MAURITIUS

AFRICA has a total area of eleven and a-half million square miles. Of this, France claims and, in a certain sense, holds nearly three millions; Great Britain, nearly 2,600,000. Nearly half the continent is thus accounted for. Germany, Portugal, Spain, Belgium, Italy, the Boer Republics, Liberia, Turkey (in Egypt and Tripoli), Morocco and Abyssinia have about 4,350,000 square miles. This estimate leaves about 1,700,000 square miles of area, of which the lakes account for about 100,000, and the rest must be assigned to the 'Libyan Desert' west of Egypt; to a region of unappropriated land between the Portuguese colony of Angola and the British Central Africa Protectorate or Northern Rhodesia; and, chiefly, to the States of central Sudan—Bornu, Bagirmi, Kanem, Wadai, Darfur, and some smaller territories, containing a large pagan population of negroes and mixed races under the ruler of the Fulahs or Felláta, the fanatical Mohammedan race already described. The most populous of these states is Bornu, with a supposed area of 50,000 square miles, on the south and west sides of Lake Tchad, and a population estimated at five millions. This still powerful Mohammedan state, within the Niger Company's 'sphere of influence,' contains tribes regarded as the most cultured in Central Africa, skilled in woven fabrics, pottery and metal ware. The Sultan is a despot, assisted in rule by a council of military chiefs and others, and having a standing army of about

30,000 men, partly armed with rifles and including armour-wearing horsemen. The capital, Kuka or Kukawa, on the west side of Lake Tchad, has a population exceeding 50,000, and is one of the chief Sudan centres of trade, carried on by caravan routes, chiefly by way of Fezzan and Tripoli, in imported articles from Egypt and Europe, with a large export of slaves, ivory, ostrich feathers and other local produce. The chief state in this region is the powerful Sultanate of Wadai, having Bagirmi and Kanem as vassal territories, though Bagirmi, by one of the latest of the countless international agreements, is supposed to be in the French sphere of influence. Wadai, with an area of 160,000 square miles, lies between Lake Tchad and Darfur, with a population supposed to amount to two and a half millions, ruled by a Sultan, from his capital, Abeshr, with despotic power controlled by custom and the Koran. The dominant negro race, the Mabas, are fanatical 'Senussi' Mohammedans. This region is one of the great African centres of slave traffic, the miserable captives from the south being sent in troops across the Sahara, with the track marked by the bones of those who perish by the way. There is an army of about 7000 men, chiefly used for the extortion of tribute in cattle, horses, honey, corn and slaves. Darfur, formerly Egyptian territory, is subject to the Khalifa, who was, at the date of writing (June 1898), still ruling at Omdurman and Khartum.

Among the islands, Madagascar, the third largest island in the world, if Australia be reckoned as a continent, has an area of about 230,000 square miles, and a population of probably between three and four millions. The Hovas, supposed to be a million in number, are the most intelligent and energetic of the many tribes. The island was known to the early Greek geographers Ptolemy and Arrian, and was visited by Arab merchants and Indian traders about the ninth century of the Christian era. It is mentioned by Marco Polo, but was

probably first seen, among Europeans, by the Portuguese navigators. There were Dutch settlements for a time on the coast, and the island drew attention from the French, with efforts, continued for two centuries, at military occupation on the east coast. In 1840 they occupied the island of Nossi-Bé, on the west coast, which has a fair trade in sugar, coffee and rice. Up to the middle of the seventeenth century Madagascar was under the sway of several independent chiefs. A warlike people then mastered much of the territory. Early in the nineteenth century the Hovas, using British discipline and weapons, reduced a large part of the island, and in 1820 their sovereign was recognised by our government as Radama I., King of Madagascar. This potentate, in gratitude for British aid, abolished the export of slaves, and encouraged the advent of missionaries, who began to work in 1820. The language, under their labours, assumed a written form, and Christianity and civilisation were fairly started among the people, chiefly of Malayo-Polynesian race, with a large capital city, Antananarivo, containing handsome buildings of stone and brick, in the east-central district. The accession of Radama's widow as Ranavalona I., in 1829, brought an evil change of affairs. The rising religion and culture were severely checked, intercourse with foreigners was discouraged, and in 1836 the missionaries were driven from the island, a decisive step followed by a great persecution of native Christians. On her death in 1861, Radama II. opened Madagascar to Europeans, and a new era began in 1868, with the accession of Queen Ranavalona II., whose husband acted as prime-minister. Christianity was embraced by the royal pair and by many nobles, and in 1869 the burning of the royal idols was followed by a general movement in the central provinces, under which many hundreds of Christian (Protestant) congregations and schools arose. Roman Catholic missions also had much success. The

people of Madagascar were on the high road to civilisation and prosperity, progress being marked by the emancipation of all the African slaves in 1879, and by the adoption of judicial and legal reforms. In 1883, Queen Ranavalona III. succeeded to power, and a disastrous change came through French colonial ambition. A portion of the north-west coast was claimed by France, on the ground of cession by local chiefs, and for two years hostilities were carried on against the ruling Hovas, who refused to recognise the cession. In 1885 peace was made, with the cession of Diego-Suarez, a territory on a bay of that name at the northern end of the island, and the ominous introduction into the capital, Antananarivo, of a French 'Resident,' with control of the country's foreign policy. In 1890, by an 'Anglo-French Agreement,' a 'protectorate' of France over Madagascar was recognised, but the Malagasy government would have nothing to do with the arrangement. This attitude of course, led to conquest. A powerful expedition was dispatched from France in May 1895. Great losses were incurred by the invaders from malaria in the coast-region, but there could be only one end to the matter when it came to fighting. In several battles the Hova troops were beaten, and the capital was occupied on September 30th. A treaty was signed by which the Queen accepted the 'protectorate,' but the mask was soon thrown aside by the unscrupulous and unprincipled conquerors. In January 1896 Madagascar and its dependencies were declared to be a French colony, and in February 1897 the Queen was formally deposed by the 'Resident-General,' and sent off with her family to the island of Réunion, about 420 miles to the east, a French possession since 1649. Order is maintained in Madagascar by about 6000 troops, of whom about 1200 are natives, and 560 Algerians. The chief effects of French conquest up to the present time have been the persecution of the Protestant

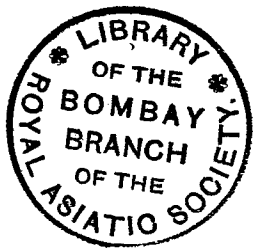
Christians—converted, to the number of over 400,000, by agents of the London Missionary Society and the Anglican Church, and by Norwegian, American and Lutheran societies—at the hands of the Catholics, supported by French authority; and a great increase of brigandage.

Mauritius has much historical interest. Discovered in 1507 by the Portuguese navigator Mascarenhas, it was found to be uninhabited, and had no sign of any previous occupation. In 1598 the name was bestowed by a Dutch admiral, from his flagship, driven there in a storm, called the *Mauritius*, after Maurice of Nassau, Prince of Orange, Stadtholder of the United Netherlands. After long further neglect, some settlements were made by the Dutch in 1644, but the island was abandoned in 1712, to be occupied, three years later, by the French, long in possession of the neighbouring island Bourbon, called Réunion after the Revolution of 1789. In 1721, as the Ile de France, Mauritius was given to the French East India Company, and passed to the French Crown in 1767. During this period the island had been successfully colonised by La Bourdonnais, Governor from 1735 to 1746, with the foundation of the capital, Port Louis, the clearing of forests, the making of roads, docks and forts, and the introduction of the sugar-cane which created the chief trade of the beautiful isle. At a later time, the French Government made the island a base of very important operations against British trade in the Eastern seas, and the mischief was not stayed until its capture, in 1810, by a powerful expedition despatched from India. Under French rule the island had steadily risen in value from culture, and had acquired a literary interest from the description of its charming tropical vegetation in Saint Pierre's famous romance *Paul et Virginie*, published in 1788. In 1814 the Treaty of Paris confirmed British possession, with a guarantee to the French inhabitants of the continued use of their laws, religion and institu-

tions. The island has, in the course of a century and a half, earned the appellation of 'Maurice la Malheureuse.' Few territories so small have ever endured so much havoc from divers strokes of calamity. In 1754 it was devastated by a hurricane, and the people were decimated by small-pox. In 1773 a terrible cyclone drove many ships ashore and half-ruined the buildings at Port Louis. In 1819, 1854, and 1862 many thousands died of Asiatic cholera. In 1866-67 an epidemic of malarial fever did more mischief than any former outbreak of pestilence, slaying about 21,000 persons at the capital, or above one-fourth of the city's whole population. In that dreadful year, 1867, the death-rate for the whole island reached 111 per thousand. In March 1868 another cyclone wrought ravage on the plantations, destroying canes which should have produced 60,000 tons of sugar. In April 1892 one-third of Port Louis was destroyed by the worst of all the cyclones, with the loss of 1000 lives and the ruin of all the houses over 30 acres of the best residential quarter. A bad bank failure, small-pox, and very fatal influenza, quickly followed the cyclone, and in July 1893 a fire destroyed at Port Louis nearly all that the cyclone had spared, reducing to ashes 15 acres of the best shops and other commercial buildings.

Here this record ends, the work being a repertory of historical facts, not of surmises, or prophecies or vain imaginings in regard to the future of the vast continent so lately brought, to a large extent, under European control. At some distant date in the twentieth century it will be early enough to form an estimate of the benefit which may have accrued, or may be accruing, from the partition among European Powers. The reader will have noted the work of Great Britain in Egypt as a sample of what may be effected by energetic and wise administration. As for the pagan and Mohammedan peoples of the vast interior, it is sufficient to state that, at the close of the nineteenth century,

slave-raiding and slave-trading are in full action over the greater part of the territory; that, in the Congo Independent State, and elsewhere, cannibalism largely prevails, and that many years must pass away before, not by the extension of nominal 'influence,' but by the operation of armed force, as in the signal instances of Ashanti, Dahomey and Benin, of Nupé and Ilorin, and of British East Africa, and through religious and moral agency, cruelty and savage superstition make way for enlightenment, freedom and order, and Europe vindicates her right to possess by the suppression of evils of long-enduring sway.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